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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

END OR BEGINNING?

by VERNON BARTLETT

A LITTLE more than a year ago I set out with considerable trepidation for Madrid. The day before I left London a prominent official at the Foreign Office assured me that the city would have fallen long before I got there. A few weeks later ninety-nine people out of a hundred were convinced that the city was doomed. When I returned there in February a table in a café in the Puerta del Sol was ironically still reserved for General Franco who had announced in November that he would take his coffee there the next day. Presumably some German or Italian shell or bomb has by now destroyed that humiliating proof of the danger of counting chickens before they are hatched. But the war still drags on and the Spanish people pay the price of this world conflict of ideologies. What will be the result of this horrible and long drawn-out affair?

For one thing, the ideologies are disappearing in the background. More and more, as was the case in the so-called Great War, the enthusiasm which at first gave the struggle grandeur and magnificence has died down, and, in its place, comes the struggle for material benefit. Herr Hitler now talks openly of his need for Spanish ores. British reactionaries have lost a lot of their enthusiasm for General Franco, not because they have at last realised that the government against which he rebelled was, in fact, a perfectly normal and legally

elected government, but because they fear that he is too much in the hands of people whose threats to the British Empire become daily more pronounced.

The Mediterranean situation has by now so degenerated that British naval strategists take it for granted that, in the event of war, we should have to send most of our shipping round by the Cape of Good Hope.

* * *

" Every cloud is silver lined," or so I used to sing when I was a boy. There are certain advantages in the way in which the civil war drags on. The Spanish people are, unknowingly and sometimes unwillingly, putting democracy back on the map. Had General Franco occupied Madrid a year ago, before the Spanish government had begun to build up a People's Army and before Russian military support had arrived, his gratitude to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini would have been such that they could have got almost all they wanted for the asking and it would have taken years before the Spanish people begrudged them their acquisitions. Now that anti-foreign movement which our Foreign Office has all along predicted has become almost a certainty. There are, in Franco Spain, aerodromes where the whole personnel from the most impressive commanding officer to the humblest mechanic is German. There are villages which nobody without an Italian pass may enter. Sooner or later the Spanish traditional contempt for all foreigners will cause generals on both sides to forget their differences and to unite against the alien.

And when that day comes we shall find that despite the increasing power of the old aristocracy at the expense of the *Falangistas*, with their naïve but (to Spaniards) new National Socialist ideas, Spain bears very little resemblance to the Spain of 1936. Peasants and artisans who have graduated from shabby civilian clothes via overalls known as " monos " to military uniforms are not going to forget how to march and to handle their rifles. The analphabetism which is so severe a condemnation of the old regime will have been impressively diminished. And peasants who are becoming their own masters will not be driven back to serfdom unless by a tyranny no Spanish reactionary government could enforce without foreign aid.

On the other side the Negrin government, unless it receives too many rebuffs from abroad, should soon be strong enough to deal

once and for all with the wild men of the C.N.T., those anarchists who have so long been the enemies of a united Spain strong enough to play a part in Europe consonant with her great past. The reopening of churches—some, still not many—in Madrid and Valencia, and the return of many political exiles to Valencia, have not received in Great Britain the notice which they deserved. Spain is slowly but astonishingly reversing the normal procedure and changing from an autocracy into a democracy in the middle of a civil war. Should this process continue, the blood will not have been shed in vain, for the survivors will be of sterner fibre than the Spaniards of 1936. And, poor devils, they will need to be, for their beautiful country has now for over a year been a battlefield.

* * *

And what about the international aspect? An immediate Franco victory would have justified Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini in claiming that, at fantastically little cost to their own countries, they had won the first great battle of the next world war. They would have procured submarine bases, minerals, strategic positions in the Mediterranean which—if you think war can ever be worth while—it would have been worth fighting a long war to gain. And the fighting would have been done by Spaniards, Moors, a few thousand unfortunate unemployed who were driven or bribed to join the Italian legionaries, and a few dozen aeroplanes and guns.

But the toughness of the Spanish rabble who pulled up the paving stones of Madrid to build barricades, stiffened by an odd jumble of volunteers, politicians rather than soldiers, who had joined up in the International Brigade, have changed all that. They have caused so great a drain on the resources of Italy and Germany (and, indeed, of Russia as well) that any victory gained in Spain will have been won only at extravagant cost. How can Italy continue to pay for large armies of occupation in Spain as well as Abyssinia? How can Germany, with her terrible shortage of foreign currency, afford to pour in shells and bombs for very much longer even though she obtain valuable minerals in return? How can Russia continue to send aeroplanes to Valencia when they are needed so desperately in China, a country whose independence is far more important to Stalin than that of Spain?

The truth, I believe, is that we are nearing either the end of the

Spanish war or the beginning of a new world war. Either Italy will withdraw her troops in a few weeks or months, making the best bargain she can in the process (and she could, certainly and easily, obtain the international recognition of her ownership of Abyssinia with conceivably a few credits to help her to develop that territory) or she and Germany will have plunged so much deeper into the affair that no conceivable British or French government will be able to stand by inactive.

* * *

Troubles certainly never come singly. There could be no more unfortunate time than the present for indiscriminate bombing of Chinese cities by Japanese aeroplanes. Now, as at no other moment since the foreign intervention in Spain began, it is important that the pressure of public opinion should be strongly behind the British government to check all this backsliding which is neither valorous nor discreet. But that public opinion is far more interested in action against Japan. And yet the whole effect of the Nyon Conference will be wasted and worse than wasted unless we can prove that the measures taken to restore respect for law were part of a policy and not merely an incident. The first step to save China from Japan must be taken in the Mediterranean. The symptoms of the disease from which Italy, Germany and Japan are suffering are exactly the same and the cure can most easily be undertaken in Spain, for there no question arises about the participation of the United States.

Of the American administration's attitude there can be no doubt. Mr. Cordell Hull has dropped hint after hint that his country would follow a British lead, or rather, would go side by side with the British. And President Roosevelt, speaking in the main city of the Middle West, has dealt a blow at the policy of isolation which is either amazingly rash or amazingly courageous. But the reactions of the great North American continent must inevitably be slower than those of Great Britain and it would be asking a lot of the Americans to expect them to amend in a few weeks a neutrality law which has been for so few months on the statute book and took so long to get there.

And this fact singularly complicates the problem of bringing international pressure against Japan. British investments in China are roughly six times as great as those of the United States. The British readiness to run risks to protect these investments is not corre-

spondingly greater, for there are the " imponderables " such as the Californian's fear of Japanese encroachment and the flouted American sense of justice and decency to consider. But the British have the strongest material reasons for wishing to check Japan while the Americans have the strongest weapons with which to do the checking—in 1935 some twenty-four per cent. of all Japanese import trade and sixteen per cent. of all her export trade was with the United States. The stopping of that commerce would go a very long way towards stopping the war. Economic sanctions, then, would involve far greater sacrifices for the United States than for ourselves, and we shall do well, in considering the possibilities of restoring order in a chaos which is largely of our own making, to remember that fact.

* * *

These articles have often been depressing, but not, I fear, needlessly so. The drift towards the present crisis has been obvious to any observer for years. The man who watches a punt sweeping towards a weir has no right not to call out a warning because the punt's passengers are blissfully unconscious of what is coming to them.

But now that the dangers are becoming so apparent to everybody, that there is so widespread a realisation that peace will only be won if great powers accept great responsibilities, we can afford to be optimistic. We made it clear at Nyon that we would take action against pirates and piracy ceased. Were we to explain honestly and frankly to Signor Mussolini that we cannot and will not allow him to go on breaking his own non-intervention pledges, he would almost certainly pull out of the Spanish adventure, for the strategic position of his people (with well over a hundred thousand Italians in Abyssinia entirely dependent upon supplies through the Suez Canal, and at least seventy-five thousand and a lot of valuable war material in Spain) is almost unbelievably bad.

There has been, during the last few weeks, a shameful revival of the policy of talking big and then acting small. The hesitation to open the Franco-Spanish frontier after saying so clearly we should do so is not only a first-class act of cowardice but also a first-class blunder. But circumstances, thank God, may drive us towards the realisation that honesty in international affairs is the best policy and cowardice is certainly the worst.

BENITO MUSSOLINI-

[The event depicted here took place some time ago, as things move today, but we feel these gems should be preserved for our readers.]

"Go on, *smile*, can't you!"

"After you, sir, after you!"

"Brennessel," Berlin.

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris.

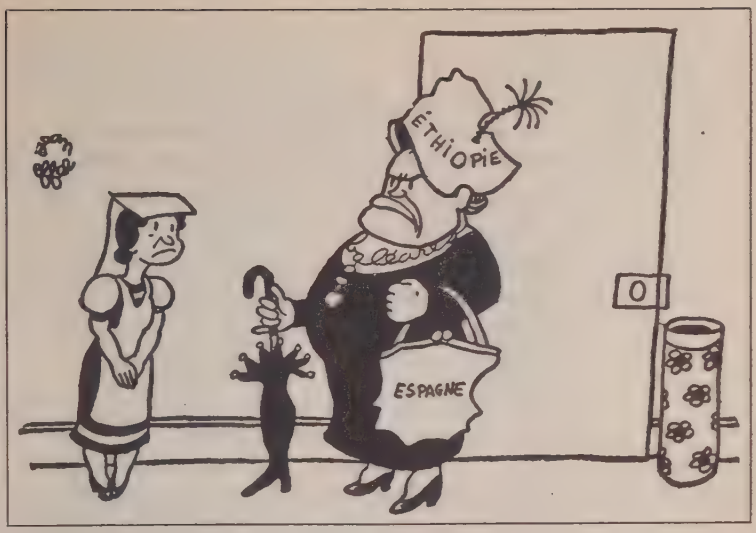
"What, no result! What about my appointment as honorary Fascist Corporal?"

"Le Canard Enchainé,"

LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG.

"What about a nice bone for my she-wolf?"

—CHEZ ADOLF HITLER—



"Madame is sure to make a great hit with her beautiful hat and new handbag."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

"Marianne," Paris.

"Now, remember, you are to serve Spain with the tea, and hand round the Balearics with the port."

DEMOCRACY MARCHES ON

"On December 12 Russians will enjoy the taste of a democratic election. The Communist Party continues to remain the sole political party."—News Chronicle, October 13

The Soviet, reckoned till of late
A somewhat arbitrary State,
Lets loose, rejoicing, on the polls,
Her millions of enfranchised souls
To taste a democratic thrill
In registering their sovereign will,
And ratify in Stalin's grip
The working-class dictatorship.

Democracy has freedom new
When guaranteed by GPU
Which countermines with secret stealth
The weevils of the Commonwealth,
And tirelessly circumvents
All deleterious elements,
Till, opposition being suppressed.
Electors freely choose the rest.

Enfeebled by the needless fight
Whether to vote for Left or Right,
Democracy has not begun
While parties number more than one.
By Russia's democratic feat
Of unanimity complete,
No other end can be foreseen
But further terms for J. Stalin.

By such example, should not we
Cure our effete democracy,
And like the Russians, who acclaim
As one, their Little Father's name,
Confirm our best (and only) choice
With free totalitarian voice,
And thus, for life at least, retain
Our Little Father Chamberlain?

REYNARD.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Press Stars in Paris

IN the French press, perhaps more than in any other, foreign politics are the close preserve of a few big names. As these writers are often quoted in London newspapers, this article is intended as a guide to their identities and to the opinions held about them in Paris.

One of the best known and best informed is " Pertinax," the Diplomatic Correspondent of the conservative *Echo de Paris*, whose occasional collaboration with Madame Tabouis of the *Œuvre* was referred to in these pages last month.

" Pertinax," whose real name is André Géraud, is a genial Frenchman in the fifties, much liked in diplomatic circles, with a gift for conversation and the expression of downright views. Oddly enough, " Pertinax " is not a pseudonym chosen by Géraud himself but the proprietary signature of the *Echo de Paris* for its diplomatic column. The idea of using pseudonyms developed largely in France during the War when most journalists, as serving soldiers, were debarred from writing under their own names.

Pranks on a Professor

In his youth Géraud studied under Professor Durckheim, the famous economist. Politically Durckheim was a pronounced anti-clerical and opponent of the Right. One of Géraud's first journalistic exploits was to send out invitations in Durckheim's name to his chief political enemies and to have the news of the forthcoming party published in the local press. The party, if it ever came off, was presumably not a success.

Before the War, Géraud was the London Correspondent of the *Echo de Paris* and took over the Diplomatic Correspondence in 1917. In addition, he is a contributor to the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Baltimore Sun*, *Europe Nouvelle* and a Japanese Agency. Last year he made a lecture tour in the United States, but neither the lectures themselves nor the articles on America which he wrote subsequently, came up to expectations.

Independent and Incorruptible

Frenchmen are unanimous in crediting " Pertinax " with complete honesty, and his views are not always those of his paper. His articles are clear, precise and rather drily worded. But they show at a glance that the writer knows his subject and that his information, gleaned from many sources, is reflected against a background of wide reading. Thanks to an elaborate system of files, mainly containing cuttings from the *Times*, he has the whole of post-War foreign politics at his finger-tips.

Critic of Britain

Until quite recently " Pertinax " was violently opposed to British policy on the grounds that our support for the Peace Treaties was too limp. In " Pertinax's " view the security of Europe required nothing short of an Anglo-French defensive alliance ; but, now that Germany's breach of Locarno has thrown us into each other's lap, he is less inclined to lecture the British and, contrary to the views of his own newspaper, strongly upholds the Popular Front's policy of *rapprochement* with England.

" Pertinax " never goes in for sensations unless well founded. Otherwise he is reputed to get them tried out by Madame Tabouis first.

Pianist and Word-Painter

Jules Auguste Sauerwein, star reporter of *Paris-Soir* and French " Knickerbocker," is quite another cup of tea. An artist in words, he writes articles full of imaginative colour. His pen drips phrases with a facility which relieves him from the necessity of adhering to only one point of view. He often goes on roving commissions and has lately visited the Spanish war.

In private life Sauerwein has a *penchant* for philosophy and has

translated a number of works from the German. He is also a brilliant pianist and one of the few conversationalists who can hold a table spellbound.

From Counting House to Centre Page

Beginning life as a bank clerk, he obtained his first journalistic post through his brother's friendship with Bunau Varilla, proprietor of the *Matin*. At the outbreak of the War, he was the *Matin* Correspondent in Vienna and a few years later was appointed Diplomatic Correspondent. Shortly afterwards he became Foreign News Editor and remained at this post until 1931 when a disagreement with the proprietor led to his resignation. A year later he flashed into the front page of *Paris-Soir*, and the minor sparks from his pen illuminate the *New York Times*.

The Aristocrat of the Typewriter

Cultured, if a little wordy, Count Wladimir d'Ormesson, who is just under forty, came late to journalism and is still regarded as an amateur by his colleagues. His family belong to the *noblesse de robe* created under the later Bourbons for services rendered in the legal profession. The Count's brother is the French Ambassador at Rio de Janeiro.

D'Ormesson's first success in life was to marry a Mexican lady whose great wealth enabled him to follow his own bents. Always interested in foreign affairs, he studied a number of questions intimately and wrote books, of which the following are the best known : *La Confiance en Allemagne?*, *Nos Illusions sur l'Europe Centrale*, *Enfances Diplomatiques*, *Dans la Nuit Européenne*, *La Révolution Allemande* and *Lyautey*. At one time he worked under Lyautey in Morocco and became a fervent admirer of the great French General and administrator.

The Psychology of Politics

Although d'Ormesson was already well known as a contributor to Reviews, it was only seven years ago that he began to write regularly for the *Temps* and the *Journal de Genève*. For the last three years he has been Diplomatic Correspondent of the conservative *Figaro*, which has gained much in prestige since its recent reorganisation.

Without the terseness of " Pertinax," d'Ormesson allows his

feelings a freer rein. His articles are based more on psychology than on fact. Some people reproach him for making his comments too personal, but there is no doubting his intellectual honesty and balance. In general, he reflects the ways of thinking current in the diplomatic circles in which he has mostly lived rather than those of the newspaper world.

The Royalist Touch

Another noble family is represented in French journalism by Saint Brice, whose real name is Louis de Saint Victor de Saint Blancard. He began his career in 1900 as secretary to Hanotaux, then Diplomatic Correspondent of the Right-wing *Journal*. Seven years later Hanotaux resigned and for thirty years Saint Brice has reigned in his stead.

Educated at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris, he emerged a supporter of the ideals championed by the *Action Francaise* and was for long a great admirer of Charles Maurras, the brilliant royalist leader-writer, who was imprisoned last year for inciting to attack Léon Blum. Saint Brice is also a contributor to the *Revue Universelle* and to the *Correspondence d'Orient*.

Feeding the Big Public

The *Petit Parisien*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in France, has as its Diplomatic Correspondent Lucien Bourguès, a reliable if slightly pedestrian writer. Born in Russia, where his father was an agent for champagne, Bourguès lived there until the Revolution and in the succeeding years was engaged in looking after refugees. In 1922 he entered journalism as assistant to Julien, then *Petit Parisien* Diplomatic Correspondent and succeeded to the latter's post on his death 12 years later.

Bourguès is a student of history, in which he took his university degree, and in his spare time dabbles with writing music. But his diplomatic articles suffer from the dully informative note imposed on him by his newspaper.

HARD LINES ON GARBO

A film fan magazine reveals that Garbo is more than annoyed because a manufacturer announces Garb-O, a sanitary lining for garbage cans.—*Wall Street Journal*.

THE OPEN FORUM

GERMANY IN AFRICA
Natives who Prefer Teutons

by PATRICK BALFOUR

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men who are particularly qualified to speak on some aspect of international affairs. Mr. Patrick Balfour (author of "Lords of the Equator" recently returned from a tour of some of the ex-German colonies, and is able to give a first-hand account of conditions there, which throws light on the comparatively favourable attitude of sections in the Union of South Africa towards the question of Germany's return to Africa.*

GERMANY was the last of the European Powers to enter the colonial field. Nearly a hundred years before the Congress of Berlin, in 1885, Great Britain had established her first African colony. Ten years before it King Leopold, with the aid of Stanley and in the name of Belgium, had established his right to the Congo. France, though she was behindhand with their administration, already possessed large tracts of the North and West before Germany claimed and was allotted her share of the African spoils. The Germans were the last, and therefore the least experienced, of the Imperialists.

Thirty years later, by the outbreak of the Great War, a considerable section of their Empire was still undeveloped. They had committed all the usual excesses and all the usual errors. The graft and brutalities of a certain type of colonist had earned universal censure, which extended to the Reichstag itself. The greater part of the Cameroons was still unpacified. The last of the native revolts in Tanganyika had only recently been quashed. Ruanda-Urundi (which is now under Belgian mandate) was still virtually unoccupied.

Other sections of German territory, however, had grown peaceful

* *See Review on p. 84*

and prosperous. German settlers were profitably established in the Kilimanjaro highlands of Tanganyika and the cultivation of sisal, now its principal export, was beginning in the plains. In the west the rich plantation districts on the slopes of the Cameroon Mountain (now under British mandate) harboured a thriving and industrious community. Here Germany was beginning to learn her colonial lesson, to develop her colonial system. Here, rather than in the districts which were still in the throes of a military pacification, is it fairest to judge of the nature of that system and of the native reaction towards it.

The attitude of the African to his pre-war German masters must inevitably be difficult to gauge. It is qualified by a natural desire to please his questioner and a natural mistrust of interrogation. It is limited by his inability to reason. The African is naturally a Conservative. He dislikes the prospect of change. He is, on the other hand, adaptable, and tends to accept the *fait accompli* of a new order without undue dislocation to his system. The younger African does not remember the pre-war regime. But the older African does.

His memory of the German, in what is now the British Cameroons, is not unfavourable. When the German planters returned to the country in 1925 they were welcomed by quantities of old askaris who wished to work for them. At the time of my visit, a few months ago, my host was embarrassed by the abrupt departure of his principal servant who, hearing that his old German master had returned, had left, without notice, to rejoin him. In so far as it is possible to generalise, the older generation of Cameroon native preferred the German regime, while the younger prefers the British or French.

He preferred it, firstly, because of its decisive methods. A certain native, questioned as to his preference, replied :

" The German comes. He says he wants to cut down the sacred grove of our ancestors to make a road. We protest at the desecration of our ancestors' tombs. But the German cuts down the grove. He makes the road. And when we have the road we find it a benefit to us, to take our goods to market.

" The Frenchman comes. He says he wants to cut down the sacred grove of our ancestors to make a road. We protest. The Frenchman cuts down the grove. But he does not make the road."

The quotation is perhaps unfair to the French, who in recent

years have improved the Cameroons with an admirable road system. It illuminates, nevertheless, the character of the German regime. The German may have been ruthless. But at least he was consistent. You knew where you were with him because he did what he said he would.

Individual Germans were brutal, but they did not typify the regime. Among the older natives there is less condemnation of German brutality than praise for German strength. The German was a disciplinarian, but on the whole he was a just one, and as such he was respected. The younger generation is subjected to no such discipline. The contract system which obliged plantation labourers to sign on for a definite period is abolished. The men are free to work or not, as they feel inclined, and with the abolition of corporal punishment there is little or no redress for dishonest or incompetent workmanship. Native families complain that whereas before the war their men returned from the plantations with a tidy sum in cash, today they return too often empty-handed. The German planter complains that the system deprives him of any permanent or responsible supply of labour. The older generation complains that the young are indolent and demoralised. They laze and misbehave with impunity. They go to school and strut about in European clothes and swell the ranks of the educated unemployed, too proud to work with their hands as their fathers worked in the German days.

The "Trousered Nigger"

The German would like to curtail this class of "trousered niggers," maintaining that a practical rather than a clerical education would better serve the interests of a predominantly agricultural community. He would make the native work, maintaining that only thus can he learn responsibility and self-respect. He would reinstate corporal punishment, maintaining that the native is not yet sufficiently evolved to understand any other. Whatever the effects of such a policy in Nazi hands it should provide little cause for misgiving in the hands of the typical German at present farming in the Cameroons. The German need for raw materials, on the other hand, might lead to further alienation of native lands, and this is a prospect which even the older generation views with some uneasiness.

The native attitude in Tanganyika is, broadly speaking, the

same. By 1914 the plantation labourer there was receiving a fair deal from the Germans and since the tax was smaller and life was cheaper he was relatively richer than he is today. When the Germans returned after the war he returned willingly to work for them.

The situation here, however, is complicated by two factors. The first is the development, under the British, of native as opposed to European cultivation, designed to assist the economic independence of the African. The second is the introduction by the British of indirect or native rule.

The first policy would doubtless be continued by the Germans. Certain tribes have always been and would always remain too independent to work on European plantations, and their economic value can best be developed by native cultivation. Cotton can never be a European crop, sisal can never be a native crop, and there is room for both. The only competitive bone of contention is coffee, and the recent riots have raised the question as to whether its cultivation can yet be regarded as a wholly economic proposition for the native.

Black Class Distinctions

The system of indirect rule, on the other hand, tends to divide native opinion into two camps. In the first are the chiefs, who foresee the loss of their authority in the event of its abolition, and the educated native, employed in the native administrations, Government offices and business houses, who fears from a more reactionary German policy a decline in his new-found social standing. Indirect rule is apt to create a class distinction between native rulers and ruled, with the rulers on the side of the mandate and the ruled inclining to the more classless system which prevailed under the Germans. The bush native, whose educational opportunities are small, is apt to be relegated to the mercies of his chiefs and to feel himself neglected by the Government. In the event of an unprejudiced plebiscite he would tend to vote for German rule.

In either camp the Tanganyika native is apt to be perplexed by the advanced and enlightened system of government which prevails under the mandate, and particularly by its system of justice.

" Before the war," he says, " if I did wrong my German master beat me, and that was that. Today if I do wrong there is long palaver in the courts, and perhaps I go to prison or perhaps I am not punished

at all, which I do not understand. It was better before. My German master was stronger than my British master."

The African is still a child, who is more at ease under a stern than under an indulgent parent. He is insufficiently evolved to rate altruism at its proper worth and is apt to mistake it for weakness. Germany, if she returned to Africa, would put back his clock. Geneva's policy is to put it forward. The tendency of each is to jump the hands too far. If a reliable census of native opinion were possible, which it is not, it would indicate the desirability of a compromise. It does the growing child no more service to treat him as though he were already at man's estate than to treat him as though he were still in the cradle.

The Germans are Back

Meanwhile Germans abound in their ex-colonies. The British Cameroons is, in everything but administration, a German colony. Its German population varies between 250 and 300. The British population, accounting for the whole of the administration and their families, does not exceed sixty. Tiko, in the mangrove swamps east of Victoria, is an entirely German port, without even a resident British official.

Across the frontier, the French, after the war, took care to snap up all the ex-German land worth having, paying compensation in paper marks and allowing virtually no opportunity of repurchase. Thus the German population of the French Cameroons, a territory five times as large as the British, does not today exceed fifty. The British, on the other hand, continued to administer their ex-German plantations under Government supervision until 1925, when they were put up to auction in London. There were no bidders. The following year, at a second auction, all the plantations were resold to an agent of the Reich, representing their former proprietors, for the sum which they had been paid in compensation after the war. The Germans flowed back into the territory, where their numbers have been slowly increasing. Twelve out of the thirteen big plantations, of cocoa, rubber, palm-oil and bananas, are now in their hands, and the cultivation of bananas has been increased to a considerable extent.

In Tanganyika the Germans were unable to repurchase so much of their land. The majority of the plantations were sold after the

war, at rock bottom prices, to Indians, Greeks and others. But Germans soon returned in large numbers. Today, with a population of 3,000, they account for a third of the European population, considerably outnumbering the British settlers.

They are of various classes, many have acquired coffee plantations, large or small, in the Kilimanjaro highlands and elsewhere. Others plant tea or engage in mixed farming in the south. Others are representatives of the German trading companies which exploit the big sisal plantations in the plains. Some even work as managers for the Indians and Greeks who purchased their old plantations.

They enjoy varying degrees of prosperity, from the salaried employee with a bare living wage to the better paid representative of a trading concern, from the " peasant " settler to the " baron " of a flourishing estate. The more indigent are financed by German Government companies and make no secret of their desire for a change in the mandate. The more prosperous are not on the whole discontented with the present regime; while the majority of the Germans in Tanganyika profess outward loyalty to the Nazi cause, an important minority view the prospect of a change of mandate with considerable misgiving.

SIGNATURE TUNE

The old song *Du Kannst Nicht Treu Sein* (" You Can't Be Faithful ") became immensely popular in connection with Mussolini's visit. This new vogue was started by the well-known Munich comedian, Weiss Ferdl, who has been sent twice already to the Dachau concentration camp as a result of his courageous satires and political allusions to certain leaders of the Third Reich. A few days before the arrival of Mussolini in Munich, Weiss Ferdl as a " lecturer " announced that he wanted to prepare his listeners for the imminent visit of the Duce and invited them to sing the Italian National Anthem, " known throughout the world." Seeing that his invitation found no echo in the hall he then proposed singing " You Can't Be Faithful " instead. Everyone joined in with great gusto.—*Journal des Nations, Geneva.*

NORDIC JACK AND JILL

Quite a number of our favourite nursery songs came from Scandinavia. " Jack and Jill," for instance, was an old folk-tale. There were two children called Hjuki, meaning " to increase," and Bil, meaning " to dissolve." They represented the ebb and flow of the tides. One day they were caught up by Mani, the Moon, as they were taking water from the well. Even today the Swedish peasant-folk maintain that they can see a boy and girl in the Moon and that they are carrying a bucket between them.—*Natal Mercury.*

SPAIN—A NEW PHASE

BLACK POINTS

by EMIL VANDERVELDE (*Belgian Socialist leader*)

From "La Dépêche de Toulouse"

IT would be useless to try and ignore the fact that at the present moment all those who follow events in Spain with passionate interest as we do have very serious reasons to be anxious.

From the military point of view things are not going well on the whole. From the political point of view, even inside the Popular Front, things are going even worse. The other day I received a visit from a friend just back from Spain. He had been there since July, 1936. He is an observer in whom one can have confidence. He knows what war is, having taken part in it in 1914. He is better qualified than anyone to judge a political situation, being or having been, himself a politician to his finger tips. He gave me his impressions and I have to admit they were not very rosy. And since then many other messages have come to confirm his.

As far as the military situation is concerned we are no longer in the days of an improvised militia, which, as a French journalist wrote, "knew how to die but not how to fight." The Republican army, or, more accurately, armies, are strong. They will hold out, and continue to hold out and even to advance around Madrid or in Aragon if the present equilibrium between the contending forces is not upset. But Madrid is not everything. Aragon is not everything. There is the Northern Front. There is Gijon. There is Asturias. And the most deliberate optimists cannot ignore the fact that if in those parts, in a few days or weeks, the last islands of Republican resistance were to be submerged, the armies of Franco and his allies would turn to other fronts, just as in 1917, after the collapse of the Russian Front, the German armies flowed back towards France. However, even that might not be enough to make the Fascists win. But there are not many weeks left before winter. Franco and his foreign accomplices know that it would not suit them for operations to stop, or be slowed up, during the bad season. They must be anxious to strike hard at once, with the hope of making an end to it. And after that, if, as is thought and feared in Spanish governmental circles, Mussolini, more or less supported by Hitler, decides to send reinforcements, not in small detachments but in entire divisions perfectly equipped, will all the heroism of the Republicans prevent their being crushed at last?

The Ranks are Split

There we have, though with many "ifs," reasons enough for fear. But, alas, there are other, less conjectural, ones. And indeed it would be the most dangerous, ostrich-like policy to close one's eyes to the deplorable dissensions between republicans, socialists, communists and libertarians which, at the present moment, according to all the evidence, are having a depressing effect on the morale, not only of civilians but of the army.

I have in my hands a circular addressed to the executive committee of the Spanish Socialist party by the Madrid section. They have not tried to conceal the fact that it was written under the direct inspiration of "Leftists" like our comrades Largo Caballero, Araquistain and Pascal Toma. Moreover, there seems to be no doubt that it expresses sentiments that are current in syndicalist

circles, both "anarchist" and socialist. And this document is from one end to the other nothing but a diatribe against the Communist International, against its Spanish section, in short, against a policy for which they hold Valencia entirely responsible and which they denounce in these terms :—

> "A policy of disunion, a spectacular policy, which has cost rivers of blood without strategical results—such is the policy of the Communist Party in Spain. What does this party propose and where will this disastrous policy lead us? If we were as suspicious as the Communists we would fear that these tactics of degradation and demoralisation of the front and the rear, or the useless waste of lives and of war materials, had no other end but to create moral and material conditions of discouragement and impotence leading to a defeat or to a pact—something like a new accolade of Vergara—with national and international Fascism."

If I speak here of incidents on which, indeed, it would be hard, not to say impossible, to keep silence, it is only with the sole purpose of not leaving in the dark one of the causes, and by no means the least important, of the wave of pessimism which prevails at present among the best friends of the Spanish democracy.

France must Act

Does this mean I share this pessimism?

On the contrary, I am writing this article to show my reasons for not giving way to it.

First, in so far as the military situation is concerned : in the fourteen months that the war has been going on, changing from a civil war to a war of invasion, we have known many ups and downs, but never, at any moment, since the initial defeat of the *pronunciamento* of July, 1936, have I departed from the conviction, that, if the democratic powers do not allow them to be crushed from outside, the Republicans will end by overcoming Franco, just as the Russians in 1918 overcame Koltchak and Denikin.

I refuse to believe that if the Fascist governments, especially Italy, by sending more so-called volunteers or by new evasions with regard to foreign forces in Spain, succeed in showing the world that for them non-intervention has never been anything but a mockery, the democratic governments could hesitate any longer. They could not go on hesitating until too late, to use all their power to "make the application of contracted engagements truly real" and

(Delbos at Geneva) to give the regular government of Spain the elementary right to procure the arms and materials necessary to defend itself against a rebel aggression.

But all that would not be enough if internal dissensions in the *Frente Popular* were to weaken it to such a point that it becomes incapable of carrying off a decisive victory.

One would have to be blind not to see this danger and that is why it is the duty of our internationals to do everything to maintain unity of action for the defence of democracy in Spain.

Nevertheless, I ask those of our friends who, because of this very real danger are a little too much inclined to see things in a dark light, to consider this simple thought. Who could forget that although in the midst of the French Revolution, the Republicans, grappling with the Vendée and with the coalition of monarchical powers, were sent, one after the other, to the guillotine, it did not prevent Jemmapes or Fleurus ; it did not prevent the victorious revolution making its way round Europe.

THE VITAL FRONTIER

by LOUIS FISCHER

From "Die Neue Weltbühne," Prague

THE Spanish war is a further phase in the struggle between young Italy and the old British Empire, and this struggle is a matter of life and death. Mussolini needs a strategical position which would make victory in the next war easier, or would offer the opportunity of making new conquests without exerting too much strength, by means of blackmail or intervention "against Bolshevism."

The French are well aware of this danger. The gangsterism practised with incredible audacity on French soil is giving the French people a bitter foretaste of what they would have to expect from a third Fascist neighbour. Germany lost the World War because she had to fight on two fronts. If Franco wins France will have three. It is said here (in Geneva) that the French General Staff has already warned Chautemps' Cabinet that it declines the responsibility of defending the country if the Spanish rebels are allowed to win. For this reason the French have not only not rejected Valencia's entreaties

for closer co-operation, but some of the French statesmen have even welcomed it. Daladier himself, the not too radical Radical Socialist and Minister of War declared that France " could not permit the freedom of communications with the African Empire to be destroyed through non-intervention, or a menace to her safety to be established on the Pyrenean border. In the life of a nation which does not want to renounce its greatness, moments arise when it must be in a position to say : No ! "

If it had not been for Britain's demands for caution the French frontiers would be open now. France wants at all costs to prevent the arrival of the second Italian army—a hundred to two hundred thousand men strong—which is alleged to be waiting to land on Spanish soil. This army might be withheld if Mussolini were informed that even such a reinforcement would be insufficient to break down Valencia's resistance, because her frontiers had been opened for the importation of munitions. If the new Fascist Brigades were really to land the Duce would have a quarter of a million men in Spain. The sooner France acts the less force she will have to use.

It is assumed in Geneva that after the opening of the frontier between France and Catalonia, war supplies from the U.S.S.R. could

" Oh wad some Power the giftie gie him, to see himself as Neville sees him."

Natal Mercury," Durban

be despatched to French channel ports and sent on into Spain by land. The Far Eastern situation has complicated things. Doctor Kung, the Chinese Minister of Finance, has been conferring with Negrin and Litvinoff. Nanking has urgent need of Soviet munitions. In this case, too, a victim of assault expects help, not from the vacillating bourgeois democracies, but from the Bolsheviks. Moscow is quite ready, I understand, to fulfil China's request. But she has not got unlimited means of help at her disposal. If England would deliver Spain from Franco, Russia would have her hands free to deliver China from Japan. However, at the moment England is pursuing a foreign policy which lacks the powerful realism of the U.S.S.R.

"UNKNOWNIA"—THE NEW LAND

From "Le Canard Enchainé" (satirical weekly) Paris

HARDLY a day goes by without the newspapers reporting some act of piracy or pillage, committed against English or French ships in the Mediterranean. These regrettable maritime incidents are all the work of unknown aeroplanes and submarines.

There is also the matter of the troops of unknown nationality which land regularly in rebel Spain, either at Malaga or at Algeciras.

Rather inexplicable events, it seems. . . .

Geographers, quickly aroused, finally discovered that a new nation "Unknownia" had recently found a place on the map of Europe.

Here is the information which they were able to obtain :—

Position. The topographical position of Unknownia has not yet been definitely determined. But there is no hurry. As long as its position is not exactly known the League of Nations is under no obligation to supervise it.

Population. Unknownia has a population of 42,000,000. But that's only a beginning. A recent law orders the Unknownians to be very prolific. The Unknownians obey patriotically.

Principal Cities. The capital of Unknownia is Rome, terminus of a great many roads. Naples, known for its kisses ; Milan, and Venice, which produces the lagoon and gondolier in abundant quantities, may also be mentioned.

Language. The language used in Unknownia is not yet very highly developed. The Unknownians use, for the most part, certain cries :

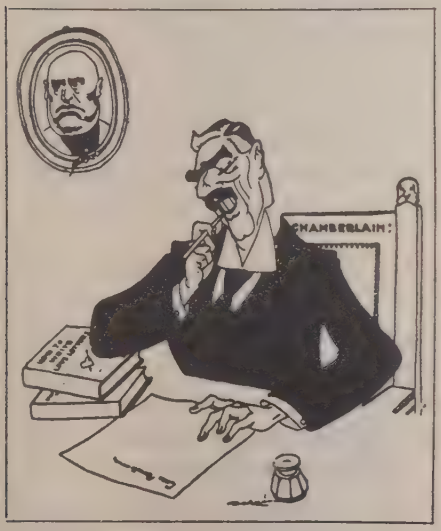
" *Eya ! Eya ! . . . Alala !. . . .*"

" *Alala !* ", the people so addressed answer.

It doesn't mean very much. But the natives seem content with it.

National Wealth. The entire country is marvellously adapted for the production of macaroni. Great progress has been accomplished in this branch of industry. Whereas it used to be necessary when making each piece, to take a little hole and put the paste around it, now solid macaroni is made which is afterwards turned over to great mechanical perforators. Macaroni is also pierced by hand. But of course it's more expensive.

In addition the new nation exports a large number of manufactured articles ; principally the hunting seaplane, the clandestine submarine, the counter-proposal and the mechanised volunteer.



"De Groene Amsterdamar"

THE BASHFUL SCRIBE
"How can I tell him . . . . ?"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

Editor : You say, an Italian plane, with nationalist colours, dropping German bombs? Well, of course, no doubt about it : it' an unknown aeroplane."

ROMAN ORACLE ⁓

EUROPE WILL BE FASCIST

From the "Popolo d'Italia," Milan

(Reputed to be by Signor Mussolini)

THE statement made by Mussolini at Berlin on September 28 that the Europe of tomorrow would be Fascist, not so much as the result of propaganda as of the logical development of events, has caused not merely interested comments, but lively polemics.

This does not surprise us ; indeed it would have surprised us if it had not done so. It is clear that all those who at present represent conservatism and reaction—capitalism, parliamentary democracy, socialism, communism, liberalism and a certain section of Catholicism —are opposed to us who stand for the twentieth century, while they stand for the nineteenth century.

When we say that the Europe of tomorrow will be Fascist, we are supported by facts and also by the new States outside Europe which are in line with those which initiated this recovery. There is no doubt, for example, that Japan is freeing itself from the morass of parliamentarianism into which it fell a few years ago. The cries of the old women and the sermons of the archbishops either amuse or disgust us. . . . It is of course "pacifist" when England in case of need does not hesitate for a moment to bomb enemy positions as she has done and is doing in Waziristan, and as she will always do when the Empire is in danger.

Japan is not "formally" Fascist, but her anti-Bolshevist attitude, her foreign policy and the spirit of her people are bringing her into line with the Fascist countries. A South American State, Brazil, is freeing itself from the theories of 1798 and is joining in the fight against Bolshevism. Many countries in Europe are marching towards Fascism while declaring that they are doing nothing of the kind. They are advancing towards that political organisation which Mussolini defined many years ago as "organised, authoritarian, national democracy." Every nation will have its "own" Fascism ; that is to say a Fascism suited to its national characteristics. There is not and there never will be, a standardised Fascism for export.

Those who cherish all sorts of foolish hopes about the future of the totalitarian States, forget that both have had to face severe tests ; for Italy that of her victorious African enterprise and of resistance to the League of Nations siege by 52 States ; for Germany that of the almost complete liquidation of the Treaty of Versailles which culminated in the reoccupation of the Rhineland.

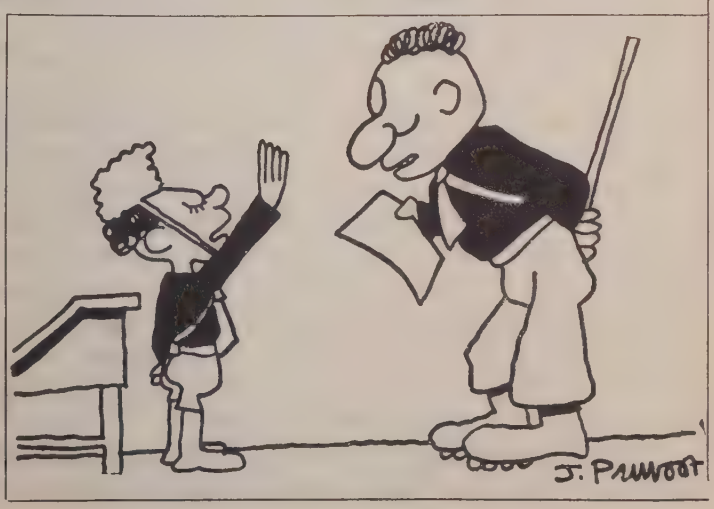
The customs, the doctrines, and the atmosphere of this century will be Fascist in the widest sense of the word. The two nations who have initiated this new type of civilisation, are not newcomers in the field of philosophy and spiritual development. The silly statement that Fascism is suitable for people of a lower status to those who are in enjoyment of the so-called blessings of democracy, falls to the ground when we think of the contributions of Italy and Germany to the growth of civilisation.

Nor is there better foundation for the accusation that their dynamic nationalism will lead to war. What has happened in the last few years proves exactly the contrary ; Germany on two most important occasions has shown her peaceful intentions—the agreement with Poland and the Naval Treaty with England. The heroic conception of life which is held by Fascists does not inevitably lead to war ; that conception can find many opportunities of realisation in the works of peace.

AS THE DUCE PREDICTED

"Give me an example of a part of Europe which has 'become Fascist.'"

"Ethiopia."



Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

END BOMBING FIRST
Step by Step with War, says Germany

From an article by Dr. Fritz Berber (Editor in the "Monatshefte für Auswärtige Politik," Berlin (organ of the German Institute of Foreign Affairs), September, 1937

GERMANY'S opponents in the World War—an impressive list whose names attached to the Treaty of Versailles did in fact comprise the majority of the States of the world—waged war, according to their own solemn assurances, " to end war."

This aim was to be accomplished by banning war as an institution, and the task was to be carried out above all by the newly-created League of Nations. It was maintained that the solution was to be found in differentiation between just and unjust war—only the former was permitted ; the latter was forbidden and being everybody's business, everybody had to proceed against the breaker of the peace with economic, and, if necessary, military sanctions. There could be no more neutrality under such circumstances, and, furthermore, no more so-called law of war.

Anyone was condemned as a reactionary and enemy of peace who spoke of the necessity of examining and modifying the provisions of international law regarding neutrality or belligerent rights, or even of the possibility of localising a war.

The endless Geneva discussions over " peaceful arbitration " and " sanctions against the aggressor " seemed somewhat unreal, almost fantastic, to anyone who preserved his sober outlook. World history has in the meantime passed ruthlessly over all these discussions. It has been shown that the Covenant of the League did not at all correspond to these ideologies, that it did not forbid war at all, that it did not only allow war of defence, but, under certain purely formal conditions, war of offence also, that it did not recognise at all the difference between just and unjust war, and indeed remained completely oblivious of the idea of justice as a principle of order. It has been shown further, that the legal provisions of the Covenant were not, and could not be, realised politically.

It is now the League's business to deal with the crisis which has arisen on the one hand through enthusiastic idealists' having

exaggerated the significance of the Covenant, and on the other hand through the League's having lagged in its practice behind possibilities which do exist in theory, even if they can be recognised as Utopian by every sober-minded person.

International law had undertaken further tasks long before the war, and had developed greatly in post-war times apart from League ideologies. Remember the results secured at The Hague, the beginnings made before the war of an institutional law for the avoidance of war by arbitration, and the great thought of " peaceful change " put forward after the war. This last is now again being brought to the fore by Lord Allen and Mr. Garvin, and must of necessity be developed outside the League, since Article 19 of the Covenant, which deals with this idea, represents its prison and tomb, but not the starting point for its realisation.

Reaction is always the punishment which follows exaggeration. Owing to Genevan ideology having tried to change international law into a doctrine of salvation from all international ills, sober and sensible law has been rendered the sort of bad service that alchemy rendered chemistry. It will be a hard but necessary task to save genuine international law, and its genuine developments in the way of law for the avoidance of war, from being dragged into the crisis in which exaggerated international law finds itself. This is especially true for one particular field which had the bad luck of having doubts cast on its right to exist by the Geneva brand of international law—that is, so-called law of war in the sense of a legal limitation of methods of warfare.

The expression " humanising of war " often used for this group of problems seems unfortunate and misplaced. One may speak of the humanising of legal punishment, by which is meant that inhuman and unnecessary severity, originating from rougher and more strong-nerved times, is removed from a permanently necessary and beneficent institution. But war is no permanently necessary and beneficent institution ; at times it breaks over the heads of the horrified nations like a catastrophe of nature, at others it is the last means of defence, only to be adopted after grave consideration by a people left with no other way of guarding its honour and its rights.

The objection has been made to war that it is senseless, because at its finish the basis of a new peace has after all to be negotiated,

so why not sit down at the conference table *before* the war instead of *after* it? But this objection is really only valid against a war which ends in a stalemate, a result which every warring party seeks to avoid in its own favour. The aim in war is victory over the opponent, i.e., the weakening of the opponent to such an extent that he is amenable to the arguments of the other side. The knock-out peace, and the knock-out war as the means to bringing it about, by which the opponent is not merely made amenable to arguments but is helplessly delivered up to the other side's unrestricted demands, is a perversion of the victory peace idea, invented by the Entente during the World War and used to our detriment.

What "Total War" Means

We have truly no cause to adopt this perversion, and certainly not with the help of that vague slogan : " total war." There is above all no cause to confuse *total* war with *absolute* war in the sense of " *inter arma silent leges*," as is often done nowadays.

Total war does indeed signify the use of all available means to defeat the opponent, but the *reasonable* use of all *appropriate* means, and that signifies mutual renunciation of the unreasonable use of inappropriate means. So far it has occurred to no proponent of the total war slogan to propose that defenceless enemies should be killed as the surest means of rendering them harmless, instead of taking prisoners, although the obligation to take defenceless enemies prisoner (Hague Convention of 1907) is in itself a limitation of absolute belligerent rights. No one either has thought of advocating the mutilation of defenceless enemies like the savages of the Danakil Desert, in order to induce panic, simply because there are certain methods which, even if they promise success, are so impossible to accord with our sense of honour, based on our race, that their use would dishonour us and make any victory achieved by them senseless.

Limitations of rights are even with " total " war both possible and necessary. To explore the possibilities of such limitations for the radically altered forms of modern large-scale warfare is a much more pressing task for international lawyers than wallowing in Utopian schemes for the " improvement " of Articles 10 and 16 of the League Covenant. The sober mean must be followed between enthusiasm and panic. This was done in classic fashion in the German programme for international law of war, of May 21, 1935, announced by the

ex-soldier and Supreme Commander of the Army, Adolf Hitler :

" 9. The German Government is ready to participate actively in all efforts which might lead to practical limitation of armaments. It sees as the only possible way at the moment a return to the line of thought in the Geneva Red Cross Convention. It believes for the time being only in the possibility of a step-by-step abolition and outlawing of those means and methods of warfare which in their essence stand in contradiction to the already valid Geneva Red Cross Convention.

" It believes that, just as the use of dum-dum bullets was forbidden and so in general also prevented in practice, so the use of certain other weapons could be forbidden and so prevented in practice. In this connection it has in mind all those weapons which bring death and destruction less to the fighting soldiers than to women and children taking no part in the fight.

" The German Government regards the idea of abolishing aeroplanes, while permitting bombing, as mistaken and ineffective. But it does regard it as possible to ban the use of certain weapons internationally as contrary to international law, and to outlaw nations which nevertheless use such weapons, as outside the pale of humanity and its rights and laws.

" It believes here too, that step-by-step procedure would lead soonest to success. Thus : banning of gas bombs, incendiary bombs and then explosive bombs can be continued up to the complete international outlawing of bombing altogether. But so long as bombing as such is left unprohibited, every limitation of the number of bombing aeroplanes is questionable in view of the possibilities of quick replacement.

" But if bombing as such were branded as a barbarity contrary to international law, the construction of bombers would soon come to an end as being superfluous and objectless. If it has been possible gradually to prevent by the Geneva Red Cross Convention the killing —in itself feasible—of defenceless wounded or prisoners, it must be just as possible by a similar Convention to forbid and finally to bring to a complete stop bombing warfare on just as defenceless civil populations.

" Germany sees in such an approach on principle to the problem greater reassurance and security for the nations than in all pacts of mutual assistance and military conventions."

POLAND'S 3½ MILLION JEWS

From the Report on the Jews in Poland by the International Missionary Council, New York

A tenth of Poland's population are Jews, and a million of them must die of starvation unless something is done to help them. These are the facts shown by this Report, which also traces the peculiar history of the Polish Jew, and gives some solutions for his problem

IN the wall of a building in the Jewish quarter of Cracow may be seen a tablet erected in 1910 by Polish Jews. . . . The tablet commemorates the welcome extended in 1343 by Casimir the Great to the Jews who at the time were being driven out of most of the countries of Western Europe, and also the privileges of freedom of religion, language and trade granted to them.

The Jews admitted at that time founded, with their co-religionists already in the country, the historic Jewish community of Poland.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century large numbers were forced by the Russian authorities to remove from Russia proper and live within " The Pale," that is west of the eastern boundary of Poland as it existed before the partition of the country between Russia, Austria and Germany. This increase, however, was adjusted by immigration, particularly to the United States of America. On the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Russia other thousands crossed by surreptitious means the boundary into Poland. Further thousands of Polish Jews have returned in recent times from Germany. The net result is that in a total population of approximately 35,000,000 Poland possesses about 3,500,000 Jews or ten per cent. of its people. A proportion larger, by far, than that of any other country apart from Palestine.

Present-day students of the situation of the Jews in Poland are confronted by two governing and apparently contradictory facts. The first fact is that during all the strife and upheavals of the centuries the privileges granted in 1343 by Casimir the Great have, in general, been maintained : the second is the fact that today Poland is the

POLISH JEWS, THE COUNTRY'S SMALL TRADERS
Poland had no middle class when the Jews were admitted and they filled a gap for centuries

subject of a wide-spread publicity calling into question its good faith and denouncing its alleged anti-semitic spirit and practices.

The roots of the existing situation are found in the history of the country. In these connections the history of Poland is unique.

In the first place, Poland asserted and practised from the earliest time the republican principle of government by election of its supreme rulers, as against succession limited, by primo-geniture or otherwise, to a ruling family. The electoral function was confined to the great nobles and the landed gentry. Poland, further, was the land of freedom both of speech and conscience : the historic refuge of persecuted minorities.

In the second place the Polish social order consisted in the main of two strata—the peasantry attached and bound to the soil composed the lower stratum, the nobles and landed gentry the upper. The result

was the absence of that essential stratum known as the middle class. It was into this largely unoccupied stratum of the social order that Casimir the Great welcomed the Jews, and conferred upon them privileges, now so jealously guarded, of trade.

In the third place, Poland's history is without parallel, in that in a time of peace, its territory was seized and divided between its three rapacious neighbours : Russia, Austria and Germany.

Poland emerged from the entire period of partition and war not only with her available resources destroyed to an estimated total of about 65 per cent., but with the historic defect in her social order—the absence of an experienced and sufficient middle class of Polish blood—intensified rather than amended. The period nevertheless brought to the peasants the blessing of release from the disabilities and restrictions inseparable from their age-long position of serfdom.

The Present Position

The foregoing conditions, historical, economic and social in character, gave rise to certain outstanding facts which govern the problems of the Jews in Poland :

The fact that as the historic traders and middle-men of Poland the Jews representing but ten per cent. of the population, hold or control about 61 per cent. of the total trade and commerce of the country. They have also a majority in the total membership of both the medical and the legal professions.

The fact that the peasants, released from the shackles of serfdom and enjoying for the first time in their history the advantages of education and crowded off the land, are demanding opportunities for earning a living in the larger spheres of trade, and the professions.

The fact that Poland engaged in one of the greatest tasks of economic and social reconstruction known to history, was plunged with other lands into the industrial depression, and, at the same time, invaded by the spirit of virulent anti-semitism prevalent in a neighbouring country.

The fact that, by common consent about 1,000,000 Jews are in such a desperate state of poverty that without special help they are doomed to die of starvation, with the concomitant fact that at least as great a number of peasants are in the same position.

The fact that the available economic substance of the country

appears to be insufficient for the support of its existing population, coupled with the further fact that the population is increasing by about 500,000 per annum.

The general charges (of anti-semitism), whether levelled against the people as a whole or the central Government of the country, cannot, in our judgment, be sustained.

What appears to be true is that a good deal of anti-semitic literature and propaganda is being distributed and conducted : and that unscrupulous agitators, for their own ends, engender and take advantage of opportunities for the arousing of more hatred and violence.

The question of solutions, is a subject concerning which many, both Poles and Jews, are seriously disturbed but few are agreed.

The first solution usually suggested is emigration. This method before the War solved it in measurable degree. (There are 4,000,000 and more Poles in the U.S.A. and probably 1,500,000 Polish Jews.) It is equally urgent, perhaps ever more so, for the peasants. The chief difficulty is obvious and apparently insurmountable ; the doors are closed and not likely in the near future, to be opened.

The second solution proposed is industrialisation. For an adequate industrialisation of the country, with its great undeveloped wealth, large sums of foreign capital would be required. For the entrance of these, other questions apart, a condition of stability in internal economic and social peace appears to be a first requisite.

The third solution is the complete co-operation in mutual goodwill and helpfulness of Jew and Gentile alike in a great task of devoted service and self-sacrifice for the good of Poland ; a land which has deserved so well from both and which offers to both the rewards inseparable from an unselfish discharge of the duties, as well as the privileges of good citizenship. To this end a greater co-operation of both Pole and Jew appears to us to be essential ; the Jew ceasing to regard ancient privileges in the realm of trade and commerce as inalienable rights ; the Pole recognising that the Jews displaced from trade, commerce, and the learned professions, must find proportionate avenues of entrance into Government and public utility services of all kinds, with a readier means of access to, and settlement upon, the land.

Finally, we record our conviction that the question of the future of the Jews now in Poland is essentially one of international proportion.

THE MONTH IN FRANCE

PARIS HAS ITS MOTOR SHOW—

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

"Now, instead of taking our old car, you couldn't marry our daughter, could you?"

"Marianne," Paris.

CAR RADIO

"It's the exhaust that's making that noise, I suppose?"
"No. It's the William Tell Overture."

—AND HUNTING BEGINS

"Ric et Rac," Paris.

FAIR PLAY

"Really, we *ought* to wake it first."

MUSCOVITE WITCH-HUNTS

THE SOVIET CRISIS

by W. H. CHAMBERLIN

From "Contemporary Japan," Tokyo

What is the meaning of the Russian purges, which, it is estimated, are accounting for the lives of about a hundred a week? Here a journalist who was for eleven years correspondent in Russia of the "Christian Science Monitor" and who is the author of "Russia's Iron Age" and other books on that country gives his views

AN element of weird irrationality broods over the whole Russian scene. No evidence about the alleged offences of Marshal Tukhachevsky and his associates has been made public. It was broadly hinted in a *communiqué* that they were acting as spies of Germany. But here again one is quite baffled as to plausible motivation. Most if not all of the eight military leaders who were so summarily executed were veterans of the Red Army, men who had grown up with it since Russia's civil war of 1917-1920, who had finally risen to high posts of honour and responsibility. What conceivable inducement could they have received to betray their country and their Army to a foreign power?

Equally inexplicable, on rational grounds, are the widespread arrests, dismissals from office and demotions on ever vaguer and wilder charges of sabotage.

Take, for example, the "wrecking" which was so glibly confessed by the defendants at the trials. The loss of life and the damage to property which they testified to having caused were trivial from the standpoint of the Soviet economy as a whole; yet such crimes obviously exposed to mortal danger the individuals who committed them. In logic there was no reason whatever for this sabotage. If one admits, as an outside possibility, that Trotzkyist sympathisers might have become so embittered by their suppression that they would be willing to contribute to their country's defeat in the event of civil war, one might reasonably have expected them to postpone their wrecking until war had actually begun and some military benefit might have resulted from sabotage.

During the last few months railway executives all over the Soviet Union have been accused of wrecking trains and deliberately failing to carry out repairs. Agricultural officials are charged with castrating bulls and failing to provide proper lifemates for Soviet cows. One luckless comrade named Skvortzov, head of a gas prevention corps, is alleged to have poisoned workers and domestic animals with chlorine gas. A son of Trotzky who had voluntarily remained in the Soviet Union (of all persons the most certain to be closely watched, the least likely to attempt any overt act against the existing regime) is solemnly indicted for trying to poison the workers in the factory where he is employed as an engineer. How he would have advanced his father's cause by such an act of homicidal lunacy is far from clear. A nephew of Trotzky named Bronstein (also a man who would have had to be very circumspect in his acts) is stated to have disabled sixteen ships which were entering Leningrad harbour.

It is doubtful whether such accusations have ever been made except during periods of intense preoccupation with the imaginary power of witches and demons. And Russia is in the grip of an officially inspired obsession with the idea of demonic visitation highly suggestive of witch-hunts in the most backward countries and the darkest ages. Anything that goes amiss anywhere is likely to be attributed to the foul fiend, who, in contemporary Soviet demonology, assumes the form of " the enemy of the people," Trotzky. . . .

One of the grotesque and incongruous features of the recent nation-wide witch-hunt in the Soviet Union is that it closely followed the promulgation of the Constitution, so lavish in paper promises of all sorts of liberties and safeguards against arbitrary arrest.

The Causes

Another puzzling feature of the Soviet crisis is that it does not coincide with a period of unusual and extreme economic distress. While the living standards of the Russian masses are very low, there has been some improvement over such bleak years of universal short rationing as the Soviet Union experienced between 1929 and 1933.

What then are the causes of the unmistakable crisis which gives little indication of having run its course ? They are, I think, personal and psychological, rather than economic and materialistic. There is really a dual crisis in the Soviet Union, a crisis of Stalin's personality

and a crisis of adjustment of revolutionary fantasies to human nature.

Let us consider first the personal aspect of the situation. No individual in the world today wields more absolute and unchecked power than that of Stalin. He controls not only the political, but also the economic life of the country, under the Soviet system of State socialism.

No important decision, whether of international politics, of the direction of communist propaganda, of internal administration or of agricultural and industrial policy can be taken without Stalin's approval and consent. His power extends even to the cultural life of the country ; it is not unusual to see a popular book, play or opera abruptly eliminated if it has failed to please the dictator.

Power in the Soviet Union does not, despite the assurances of the

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Stalin :
"It's about time you knew, Ivan, that I leave my sceptre at home when I play this part."

"Kladderadatsch" Berlin.

Constitution, rest with the Soviets, who are mere rubber-stamps for registering the will of the ruling Communist Party, the sole legal political organisation in the country. It would not even be accurate to describe the Soviet regime as a dictatorship of the Communist Party, which has been reduced, after repeated rigorous purges, to a membership of less than 2,000,000, out of a total population of approximately 170,000,000.

For the Communist Party is nothing but a blind instrument in Stalin's hands. He has killed, arrested, broken in one way or another all of Lenin's old associates whose authority during the first years of the Revolution was equal or superior to his own. In their places he has appointed to the highest posts of the Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy two types of followers : mediocrities whose rôle in the Revolution was negligible, and younger men who could not have made their mark during the Revolution two decades ago and who owe their advancement entirely to Stalin.

During the tense period of Revolution and civil war, when the existence of the Soviet regime was in much greater danger than at the present time, criticism within the Party ranks was much freer than it is today. A Party or Soviet Congress today is nothing but an uninterrupted hymn of adulation for Stalin, each bureaucrat trying to devise some new and more acceptable form of flattery.

Stalin Has Deteriorated

When one considers the natural psychological effect of such a constant stream of extravagant praise, unbalanced by the harsh words of opposition and disagreement that not seldom fall to the lot of the head of a democratic state, yet accompanied by the constant still small fear of assassination, it is obvious that the nerves of such a dictator as Stalin are subject to abnormal strain. And during recent years, especially during the last year, there has been a clear deterioration of his quality of leadership. Finesse has given way to the crudest kind of brutality.

Stalin ten years ago might have been a worthy object of admiration to Machiavelli. He had manœuvred his way to the supreme power, first playing off Zinoviev and Kamenev (whom he recently shot) against Trotzky, then utilizing the support of other Party leaders, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky (of whom the first two are in

prison, while the third committed suicide) to break his temporary allies, Zinoviev and Kamenev. And he had done this without bloodshed, without any spectacular *coup d'état*, simply through adroit manipulation and wire pulling.

But Stalin's methods today rather suggest those of Scarface Al Capone, or some other monarch of the American underworld. He can no longer content himself with gradually demoting or degrading suspected rivals and enemies ; he must kill them.

The Constructive Element Has Gone

The big changes which were carried out in Soviet economic life between 1929 and 1933, the industrialisation of the country and the forcible substitution of collective for individual farming, were accomplished at the price of immense human suffering. Whole classes of the population, such as the Kulaks, or more well-to-do peasants, were economically and to some extent physically exterminated. Fear and espionage were universal. Yet, however much one might question the desirability of the changes themselves, or doubt whether any future gains could justify the prodigious amount of misery which was being inflicted, Stalin at that time was driving for definite and understandable objectives. To a fanatical mind the argument that the last remains of capitalism were being destroyed was the justification for all the ruthlessness with which the new policies were carried out. As a result of an intense propaganda campaign, at least a part of the Soviet youth was infused with the idea that a new and better world was being built.

One entirely misses any constructive element in the terrorism of the last year. The amazing picture of wholesale treason, sabotage and corruption (charges of embezzlement of public funds are being brought with increasing frequency) which is unfolded by the official Soviet press must be highly disheartening both to sincere Communists in Russia and to " friends of the Soviet Union " abroad. The " invincible " Red Army, where no serious cases of disaffection had hitherto been publicly aired, is suddenly revealed as allegedly including in its leadership many prominent officers who are systematically betraying its secrets and working for its defeat. At the same time many of the leaders of " socialist " industry and agriculture are denounced on the ground that they are deliberately endeavouring to wreck the enterprises under their control. Whatever respect the

masses may have had for Communist and Soviet bureaucrats must be seriously undermined by the constant flow of new alleged exposures of crime and malfeasance in office.

Stalin himself, in 1925, was a prophetic critic of the Stalin of 1937. At this time he was opposing a demand of Zinoviev and Kamenev that Trotzky be expelled from the Party and put to death.

" A policy of shedding blood," declared Stalin, in a reference that is deeply ironical in view of his own recent record, " is dangerous and contagious. One cuts off a head today, another tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow a third—then what remains of the Party ? "

Very little indeed does remain of the Party, after Stalin has decimated its old guard leadership by his numerous executions and far more numerous arrests and degradations—except an organisation of bureaucratic jobholders, devoid of any capacity for independent thought. And even the security of the Soviet bureaucrat today is decidedly uncertain ; he never knows when he will be cast for the rôle of a scapegoat and suddenly denounced as an agent of Germany or a secret ally of Trotzky, engaged in some weird scheme of damaging and disruption.

Apart from the deterioration in Stalin's capacity for leadership, the Soviet Union is experiencing a crisis of post-revolutionary adjustment. It is an unfailing psychological law that every major revolution is ultimately followed by a reaction. . . .

Post-Revolutionary Reaction

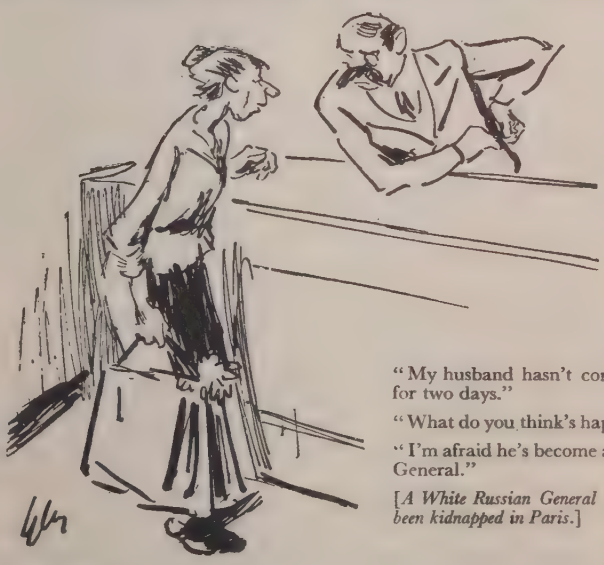
The Russian Revolution has been even more profound and far-reaching than the French. Indeed there have been two Revolutions, of which the first, from 1917 until 1921, abolished private ownership of large industry and established the political dictatorship of the Communist Party. The second, which went on from 1929 until 1933, made a virtually clean sweep of private property in private trade and agriculture and thereby laid the foundation for a socialist planned economy, in which the State undertakes to regulate every detail of national economic life, from the wage-scale of a peasant in a collective farm to the number of barber-shops in a new industrial settlement.

There has been no lack of signs that in Russia also the mood of reaction, of gradual abandonment of the more extreme ideals of the Revolution, has been gaining ground. And for some time Stalin

himself seemed to swim with the tide, making one concession after another to the newly aroused instincts for personal enrichment, personal distinction and stability of family life.

Many of the features of early Soviet life which won the admiration of left wing intellectuals in America and Western Europe have been unceremoniously scrapped. Divorce has been made difficult and expensive and the State exalts the mother who bears many children and frowns on contraception. High titles of military rank, which were abolished after the Revolution, were restored. The self-denying ordinance under which Communist Party members were limited as to the amount of money they might earn was dropped. Authority in the home and in the school, almost non-existent in the first years of the Revolution, was restored.

With a view to increasing productivity and improving labour discipline the rights of the factory managers have been extended and those of the workers' committees curtailed. And Stalin threw all the weight of his authority behind the proposition that for unequal work there must be unequal wages. There has been a steady spread in wage and salary differentials until today the difference between the



"My husband hasn't come home for two days."

"What do you think's happened?"

"I'm afraid he's become a Russian General."

[*A White Russian General has again been kidnapped in Paris.*]

"Le Petit Parisien"

earnings of a State business executive or an engineer and of an unskilled worker or peasant is about as great as it would be under a system of private capitalism. Dancing and lavish entertainments, frowned on as " bourgeois " for a time, have again come into style. . . .

But the terror of the last months has struck so widely and indiscriminately that it cannot be accurately interpreted as a consistent process of putting out of the way people who remained inconveniently revolutionary in their ideas after the period of revolution was over. Not a few of its victims have been generally regarded as moderates and rightwingers within the communist ranks ; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Stalin, clinging desperately to his absolute power and haunted by exaggerated fears of assassination and conspiracy, has been simply " liquidating " (to use a customary Bolshevik synonym for execution) everyone who seemed even remotely dangerous as a potential rival. . . .

International Effects

The effect of the continuing purge on the international position of the Soviet Union is inevitably negative. An English newspaper recently suggested that it would be useless to sign a pact with the Soviet Union because the people who signed it would probably be shot as traitors and saboteurs before the ink on the document was dry. While the technical armament achievements of the Red Army are considerable the shooting of eight of its leading Generals, the suicide and " disappearance " of several others cannot but raise grave doubts in the minds of Russia's allies as to how effective the military machine would be in the event of war. The yielding attitude of the Soviet Government in the recent Amur islets controversy with Manchukuo is not calculated to dispel these doubts.

It is impossible to know with any certainty what cliques and factions exist within the Red Army or how far Stalin has insured the affection, or at least the obedience of the surviving Generals by shooting so many of their colleagues. But it seems highly probable that the aftermath of the prolonged purge will be a period of passivity in Soviet foreign policy. The apprehension cherished in Japanese military circles that the formidable array of Soviet tanks and airplanes will be thrown into the balance in Manchukuo or China seems unfounded, at least for the time being.

About the future of the Soviet Union no one can speak with certainty, especially when the present situation is so obscure and at the same time so fluid, with many actors on the political stage terminating their rôles so abruptly. It is quite conceivable that after Stalinism will come some kind of Soviet Bonapartism, which might give all the neighbours of the Soviet Union good cause for concern.

But there is an equally good chance that Russia's rôle in international affairs will be passive rather than active for an indefinite period. Russia has before it immense tasks of internal development, comparable with those which faced the United States after the Civil War, when the opening up of the West kept America fully occupied for more than a generation. Moreover, there are internal problems and contradictions to be solved.

The Non-Russian Soviets

The fact that the theoretical " dictatorship of the proletariat " in practice is becoming more and more evidently a dictatorship of a privileged bureaucracy over the proletariat is certain to lead to internal discontent and friction. The almost hysterical concern about Ukraine which Soviet leaders display and the especially rigorous purges which have taken place there and also in other non-Russian regions, such as White Russia, Georgia and Karelia, show that the nationality problem is by no means entirely solved. In theory every affiliated Soviet Republic has the right to secede from the Union. In practice anyone who advocated secession would be promptly shot or imprisoned. Almost half the population of the Soviet Union is non-Russian ; and the contradiction between the paper liberty of the affiliated republics and the actual close centralisation of political and economic power in Moscow creates another perplexing domestic problem.

So there would seem to be some reason for agreeing with Major-General Homma's recently expressed opinion that Japan need not be unduly apprehensive over the military preparations of the Red Army and for hoping that Soviet-Japanese relations, if they cannot be cordial, may at least be placed on a basis that will exclude the likelihood of actual conflict.

MOSCOW CRACK

A current joke, not openly told in Moscow, is that " Stalin has had all his old friends executed ; now he is failing back on mere acquaintances."—*News Review, London.*

EAST OF SUEZ~

JAPAN NEEDS A SHORT WAR

by EDWARD C. CARTER

(General Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York)

From "Die Wiener Wirtschaftswoche," Vienna

Here Mr. Carter, who knows the Far East intimately, puts his finger on the immediate cause of the war, and forecasts its future course

ANYONE who has repeatedly visited the countries bordering on the Pacific in the last few months, as I have done, must be surprised at the political and economic changes which have taken place in several of these countries during the last year. The China that I left a few weeks before the outbreak of the present war is entirely different from the one I knew during my previous visits there. China, from being a collection of states has become a nation, the national consciousness is awakened and not only dominates intellectual circles, but is also very strong in all classes of the population.

Hand in hand with this spiritual regeneration came an economic development which has now taken on American dimensions. Economic life is running much more accurately and regularly, the railways are in an excellent condition, the position of the national finances was never as favourable as it was last spring and, a clear sign of this turn for the better, imports rose by about 40 per cent. and exports by about 30 per cent. A similar picture of the economic advance is offered by Siberia, where several cities, which a few years ago were only little townships, have developed into industrial strongholds.

The impression I got from Japan was quite different. Japan passed her economic zenith in the preceding year. Every onlooker is struck by the fact that the economic condition of the country today is entirely different from that of the year before. The difficulties which may be observed in many industries are made worse by the fact that since the beginning of this year the exchange control has been rendered so much more severe that the importation of raw materials and machines—in so far as they are not necessary for war preparations—is seriously interfered with. Added to this are the well-known

difficulties in internal politics, the unfavourable valuation of the year in foreign money markets, etc.

I have purposely put these two pictures side by side ; on one hand the economic upturn in China and Siberia, on the other the decline from Japan's economic zenith, because this contrast is one of the deeper causes which have led to the war in the Far East. In Japan there are certain circles which saw war as the only way out of this precarious situation and which were filled with misgivings by the economic improvement in the other two countries. Undoubtedly the present Japanese government did not want the war ; that it has taken a by no means favourable turn for Japan is a proof that the government judged rightly when they continually tried to urge moderation on the military party. But their efforts were unfortunately without success. As late as the first of last July an understanding was reached between the Manchurian and North Chinese armies on one side and responsible people in Tokio on the other which justified the hope that further developments would be peaceful. But the national extremists on both sides pushed ahead too far and a week later the first shots were heard.

How Can China Secure Arms?

There is no point in arguing now about who fired the first shot. Events have taken their course and it looks at present as if the war will be a very long one. Opposed to the well-equipped army of the aggressor, armed with the most modern weapons, stands a people, many times superior in numbers and whose national consciousness has clearly been strengthened by the war, but suffering from a lack of munitions. Will China be able to remedy this defect? That is a great question. Since the Chinese coast is blockaded there are only two routes by which the Chinese army could receive munitions ; through French Indo-China and through Outer Mongolia, which is under Russian control. Both offer great difficulties in transportation quite apart from the fact that it is uncertain whether France or Russia are ready to give assistance when it would involve so many risks. In so far as Russia especially is concerned she might, if she liked, put an end to the war by interfering actively in favour of China. But Russia, perhaps only for the time being, will not proceed alone ; she aims at inducing England, France, and the U.S.A. to take united

action against Japan. It is doubtful whether Moscow can accomplish this as things are at present. So, under conditions prevailing at present, China must carry on the struggle alone. However it may end it will bring unhappiness to the countries involved in it, and it will do great damage to Japan economically whether she wins or loses. Therefore Japan has the greatest interest in ending the war quickly, while China's chances, as long as munition supplies can be assured, increase with the duration of the war.

JAPAN'S SIDE

From the American radio address by Mr. Kensuke Horinouchi, Japanese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

WE believe that a nation should not only be animated by a desire for peace, but should realistically seek to establish those conditions which are essential for the maintenance of peace. This we have always endeavoured to do.

It is indeed unfortunate that our patient and persistent efforts toward establishing our relations with China on a firm and friendly basis had to be interrupted by the present conflict. We still hope, however, that we shall be able to come speedily to terms with our next-door neighbour and stabilise our relations to our mutual benefit.

Why, then, have we had to resort to arms? We must emphasise, first, that the expeditionary forces of Japan now in China have been sent there for no aggressive purposes and, secondly, that we have no territorial designs. Our forces are in China to safeguard our legitimate interests, to protect our rights, and to secure the safety of our nationals. These forces will be withdrawn the very moment that their presence is no longer required. . . .

Let me now briefly explain the underlying causes of the conflict—the driving forces at work in China today. When I say driving forces, I mean those shaping China's national policy and programme. The ultimate aim of those forces today as declared by the leaders of China is to unite and revitalise China into an organised nation. In that aim, the Japanese nation is sympathetic. We certainly hope to see such a China come into being, for then only can we enjoy real stability and security in the Far East. Unfortunately, however, these

Chinese leaders have chosen the wrong means to achieve their purpose. For several years past, they have carried on a relentless anti-Japanese campaign, adopting it as their policy—as a means of obtaining united national support for the Nanking Government.

It is common knowledge that the Communists have been playing a significant rôle in the nation-wide agitation against Japan. It is also well known that these elements are supported by the Communist International which aims at the destruction of the existing structure, both political and social, of the entire world. These elements are the forces directing the destinies of China today. These are the forces—one anti-Japanese, the other Communistic—with which Japan must contend.

For the sake of her own national security and for the sake of the peace of East Asia, Japan must eradicate this Communist menace. We have, therefore, repeatedly invited the attention of the Chinese Government to the danger of Communism, simultaneously requesting them to suppress effectively the anti-Japanese agitation. But, far from listening to us, the Chinese Government joined hands with the Communists in their campaign against Japan, which became increasingly violent, and with this, all our efforts at re-adjusting Sino-Japanese relations proved futile.

It is to be greatly deplored that a major conflict which we have striven to the last to avoid is now going on. But as I stated in the outset, we have not lost hope for peace. Japan is deeply conscious that she must live in harmony and co-operation with China, for, after all, we are close neighbours, who should co-operate on the friendliest of terms for our mutual well-being.

GENEVA'S WORST

What I imagine Mr. Harrison is thinking is that possibly on this occasion Japan has bitten off in Shanghai and in Nanking more than she can Manchukuo.

That is the sort of stuff we are talking in Geneva, which seems to me to be the place most remote from all realities in the world.—*Geneva Correspondent, Daily Express.*

DON'T BREAK THE NEWS TO THEM

Commemorating the signing of the Kellogg-Briand peace pact, government officials in Paris and Washington will unite in praise of the international agreement to outlaw war during a broadcast tonight at 5.30 o'clock.—*The Peoria, Ill., Star, quoted in The New Republic, New York.*

EUROPE ANSWERS UNCLE SAM

MUCH ADO ABOUT—WHAT?

by RUDOLPH KIRCHER (*Editor*)

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

A truly epoch-making event this month has been President Roosevelt's great speech, condemning international anarchy, and fearlessly advocating American participation in collective action against aggressors. How far will he lead his country to abandon its policy of neutrality? Here we have some varied views from Europe

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S Chicago speech, and the American Government's declaration on the Sino-Japanese conflict have excited people, in our estimate, quite unduly. His action seems to us very "American." The President makes his appearance like a *deus ex machina* to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning. There is so much staging that it is hard to arrive at the meaning of the performance.

It is our guess that two things should be carefully distinguished from one another : the possibility of a fundamental change in direction in American policy, and the immediate practical significance as regards international disputes, i.e., first and foremost, the Sino-Japanese conflict. As regards the former, important developments may, under certain circumstances, arise ; as regards the latter, however, there seems to us no cause to expect great results.

Leading personalities in the United States have become convinced that the American idea of neutrality, i.e., that the country could isolate itself and do good business in the event of international complications, on the basis of the 1937 Neutrality Act—is wrong. . . . The hope of establishing that harmony between business and politics which is one of the typical aims of the Americans, has not been fulfilled to the extent expected. The application of the Act in the Sino-Japanese case would have consequences which appeared grotesque to the Americans, as Japan would have been the one to benefit. For these reasons they found themselves condemned in Washington to execute a political tight-rope dance.

It is not surprising therefore to hear the rumour that the President

intends shortly to apply to Congress, in order to secure an alteration in the Act. Even if this were not his intention, he would have an opportunity, in the confusion of a by no means simple political situation, of making the world and his opponents at home forget the tight-rope dance, by striking high-sounding notes on peace and the forthcoming change in the United States' rôle in world politics. This would have the advantage that the English could not (as at the time of the Manchurian conflict) reproach the Americans by saying that only their lack of energy prevented effective intervention in the Far East—a reproach which is particularly unwelcome to Americans since England's unwillingness to expose the Empire to a conflict in the Far East is so obvious.

In what measure, and in what way, the United States would really like in future to take part in the regulation of the world, in the League of Nations, or even in the common policy of France and England, cannot be foreseen at all. The French Press especially seems already to be regarding things as certain which are still completely hidden in the mists of American diplomacy. Certainly, the United States Government has quite expressly approximated to the League's Resolution, but this need not mean so very much. We by no means see President Roosevelt yet sitting at Litvinov's side at the Geneva Council table. We also do not yet see any Anglo-Franco-American three-pointed star beaming over Europe. The President seems to us to be at the moment occupied in steering the American people out of their illusion of isolation, and himself out of the blind-alley of his legislation. He has made his big bang and is now waiting tensely for its echo in the hearts and heads of the American electors, in particular those who have so far made a nice packet of money out of certain wars, civil wars and, last but not least, Bolshevism. His next steps will depend, we presume, in the first place on this echo.

The American citizens have been assured by their President right along that he will in no case lead them into dangerous adventures, or into a war over sanctions policy. . . .

Certainly, the Department of State has moved into the spiritual company of the League Assembly by its condemnation of Japan as a treaty-breaker. But what do Geneva resolutions signify without either the will or the way to give them practical validity? The Americans cheer the League up by placing themselves parallel to it,

but at the same time announce : " We won't let ourselves be dragged into sanctions." They *will* attend a conference, a conference of the Powers which concluded the Treaty regarding China's integrity in 1922. In this Treaty a " frank and complete exchange of views " is provided for if necessary—an exchange of views, but no obligation to go to war or anything of the sort. So they will confer, while Japan continues her way undisturbed towards the attainment of her goal (what will that in actual fact prove to be ?).

Insoluble Dilemma

The Department of State will probably lay emphasis on the breaking of the Nine Power Treaty, which in practice will mean a demand that a peace be again concluded in China, and, moreover, a peace which maintains China's integrity, both territorial and political. Japanese spokesmen are already declaring : " China's integrity will not be violated," but they want no talk of Treaties and Conferences, because " we want no third parties intervening." Not even the President's great gesture, and the flight to the neighbourhood of the League seem to critical eyes to open a satisfactory way out of this situation. We are glad that we have no part in this dilemma, but wish the bleeding Orient a quick return to good order and a just peace.

SUPPORT FROM RUSSIA

From " Izvestia," Moscow

AT a time when the wave of fascist aggression is mounting ever higher in two continents and the lawlessness of the aggressors who enjoy impunity is leading to more and more human sacrifices and the destruction of material goods on a vast scale, the head of the American government has found words which show that he is fully aware of the menace.

A number of thoughts expressed in Roosevelt's speech closely correspond to the ideas and principles the application of which has been fought for with consistency only by Soviet diplomacy—for example, the principle of the indivisibility of peace.

The fact that Roosevelt touched in his speech on the question

of neutrality shows that American public opinion is increasingly in favour of reconsideration of the policy which has been pursued up to now. But this point at the same time reminds us of the difficulties lying in the path of a truly effective struggle against aggression. In order to carry out the principles enunciated in the President's speech, it will be necessary to remove a number of weighty obstacles both in the sphere of American domestic politics and in that of international politics.

If a quarantine against the fascist aggression is to be effective, it is necessary for certain governments to replace words by deeds. Roosevelt's speech represents a significant step in that direction. The near future will show whether further steps are to be taken.

SECRETARY HULL'S EGG DANCE

"New Masses" (Communist), New York

It goes without saying that steps aimed at practical collective resistance to lawless and criminal military aggression will meet with the full support of the Soviet Union.

PRESIDENT WILSON LIVES AGAIN

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

For the Czechs, who won independence at Versailles, the name of President Wilson has almost sacred significance. In Germany, on the other hand, a comparison of President Roosevelt with his hated predecessor of the ill-fated Fourteen Points would damn him in their eyes

ROOSEVELT'S speech in Chicago signifies a dramatic change of course in present political developments. . . .

With his confession of faith in world peace, international law, the idea of morality in international politics, President Roosevelt has adopted the same great line of thought that animated President Wilson at the founding of the League of Nations. As the United States did not join the League it has been largely forgotten what rôle Washington played at its birth. And yet it was the great principles of American democracy which moved Wilson to initiate the League as a new instrument in the relations between nations. Even though America, for internal reasons, declined connection with the League, Geneva remained essentially identical with America's ideals. The Pan-American policy which has been pursued by the United States since the end of the war was only an attempt to realise the world-unifying ideals of the League on a regional basis.

Roosevelt's intervention came almost at the last minute. It had the effect of a stimulating injection in Geneva. The League realised suddenly that its work was after all running parallel with that of the North American democracy, and that its mission of peace can reckon in decisive questions with the United States. Consciousness of this had its effect in the negotiations over China. The resolution adopted did not only signify moral condemnation of the aggressor, but suggested that individual States should give active help to the victim. There is no doubt that America would join in such individual action.

America's co-operation with Geneva in this question is naturally promoted by the great material interests which she has to protect in

China, and which make the League appear in the light of a welcome ally for the maintenance of Chinese independence. Nevertheless, this *rapprochement* will have consequences over and above the Chinese question. . . . For Central Europe Roosevelt's declaration represents a moral strengthening of peace tendencies.

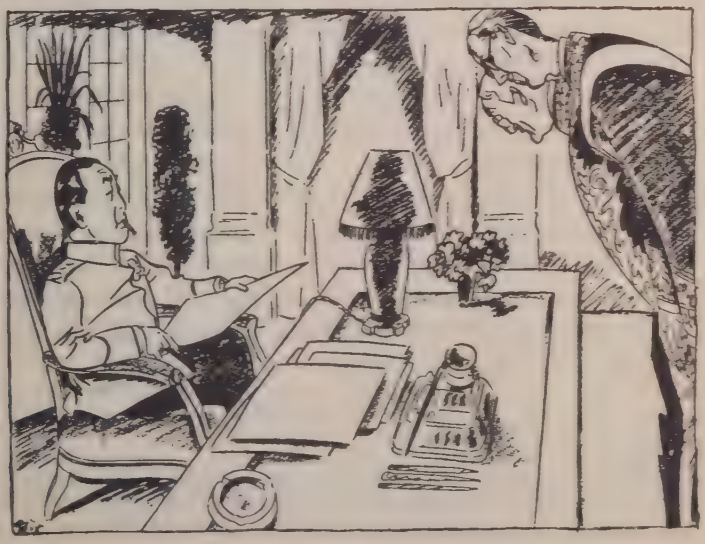
THE WORLD'S PLIGHT
America is Responsible

From the "Journal de Genève"

THE whole question (as regards Mr. Roosevelt) is whether we have to do with a philosophic historian or a statesman determined to act. The fate of the world depends on the answer.

For we must say what President Roosevelt did *not* say : without lessening in any way the responsibility of nations which have worked against collective security, we affirm, at the risk of provoking a wave of indignation in North America, that the real responsibility for the troubled situation of the world lies with the United States of America.

"No, we can't give you an apology for bombing foreigners. But we shall keep your governments in mind when we next place a contract for bombs."



"Blix," in "Berlingske Sondag," Copenhagen.

If the action of the League of Nations was corrupted from its birth it is because it was conceived and organised by President Wilson on the basis of the direct collaboration of his country, and that this collaboration was lacking from the very beginning.

The League could have been conceived in two different ways : as a strong but not necessarily universal League with a military force always at its disposal to make its wishes respected ; or as a universal League whose moral power was such that no State would be able to ignore its verdicts.

To satisfy the United States and obtain their collaboration the second alternative was adopted. And the League of Nations conceived on the American model is powerless because of America's withdrawal.

The most energetic apologies cannot really change this situation. To obtain collective security either the United States must participate unreservedly in the League of Nations or the Pact must be entirely revised, taking into account the absence of the United States.

HOPE FOR REAL PEACE

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

THE President of the United States has restricted his discussion to generalities and has not said by what practical means he intends to collaborate with us.

The essential point is that, at the psychological moment, the solidarity of the American democracy with the democracies of Europe has been brilliantly defined. It is quite certain that if this solidarity of spirit, thought and aim were soon to become more concrete it would not be long before we saw a prudent retreat on the part of the Berlin-Rome axis. It would be spoken of less loudly. The policy of the *fait accompli* would be given up and consent would at last be given for reasonable negotiations to take place around the green table of a real Peace Conference.

THE LAND OF ALIBI

Report from Naples :—Forty-one officers and 1,795 soldiers have embarked on the *Toscana*. These detachments are leaving for Tripoli, some say. For Alibi, say others.—*Le Canard Enchainé, Paris.*

BOYCOTT OR NEUTRALITY?

ON HATING THE JAPANESE

by BRUCE BLIVEN (*Editor*)

From "The New Republic," New York

This striking expression of the argument against sanctions comes from the editor of one of America's most important Socialist weeklies. It was written before President Roosevelt's speech, but the paper has not apparently changed its opinion since. Six American Peace organisations also continue to urge absolute neutrality

A GOOD many of my friends have lately found a new occupation for themselves in hating the Japanese. Their language, when they express what they think of the present invasion of China, is mostly unprintable. They frequently utter the fervent wish that the Japanese army now in China should be destroyed to the last man, that Japan herself should be invaded and conquered, and that her great cities should experience the horrors of aerial bombardment such as have lately been inflicted upon Shanghai and other Chinese communities.

With much of the indignation expressed against Japan it is impossible not to agree. Her whole Asiatic policy in recent years violates every human concept of justice ; it is so unmoral that it seems to deny that any such thing as morality even exists. It is as bad as the Italian war against Ethiopia : nothing worse than that could be said.

The question remains : What should be done about this attitude of ours ? Should we take steps to implement our hatred ?

I must admit I am astonished at the number of people who now believe that we should. In England, in particular, many voices are now raised to demand that Great Britain and the United States should stop Japan. The argument is made that she is urgently dependent upon imported raw materials and manufactures. Moreover, if the present war continues longer than a few weeks, she will be dependent upon large foreign credits as well. Let England and the United States, it is urged, join hands in putting a steel ring round the Japanese Archipelago. Let them cut off the flow of cash and goods, and Japan

will speedily be brought to her knees. She can then be forced to halt her war in China, perhaps even to rectify some of her wrongs of the past six years.

This argument sounds tempting ; simple, dramatic and brutal actions are always attractive in a world where everyone is a sadist if he isn't a masochist. Yet on second thought, some troubling doubts arise —doubts that deserve at least to be catalogued.

Would such action produce the desired effect? Certainly it did not, when half-hearted economic sanctions were applied against Italy in the Ethiopian affair. The effect then was to fuse the whole nation behind its leaders, to destroy any possible opposition voices, to create burning hatred of the foreigners responsible for this action. Is there not every reason to believe that still stronger sanctions would now produce the same result to an even more intense degree? Is not the only reasonable parallel the example of a country invaded by a foreign foe, in whose presence patriots forget all their differences and fight shoulder to shoulder in the common peril?

Blockade means Starving Women

Are we prepared to accept the consequences of such a policy? Even if you assume that the democracies, by economic measures, could break the Japanese will, it is obvious that her will would not be broken until the effects of the blockade had been tremendously strong. In cold English, that means making war on an entire population. It means, as we learned in Germany in 1918, to starve women and children, the aged and the ill, while available supplies are diverted to the fighters. If our object is, as advocates of the blockade say it is, to avert large-scale human suffering, then this particular device is a failure.

Would not the policy lead at once to war? Many careful students of international affairs are convinced that the application of such a blockade would produce, at once and almost automatically, a Japanese declaration of war against the blockaders. If this took place, the cure would certainly be worse than the disease. With Great Britain thus engaged in the Orient, the danger of a flare-up in Europe would be much increased.

Could England and America fight Japan with clean hands? The great democracies have an invincible flair for self-righteousness ;

but even they must remember that they have a heavy share of responsibility for the situation in China. What Japan is doing is merely to continue on a larger scale and with more brutal candour what the Great Powers did in China for a hundred years. The British are not so far from the Amritsar massacre that they can afford very much righteous wrath about the bombing of Shanghai. Americans who are today only in middle age participated in the extermination of Filipino leaders at the turn of the century. Both countries still stand subject to a Japanese charge of *tu quoque !*

Would a blockade be carried out? A half-hearted attempt to apply economic sanctions, or one abandoned in the middle, would be worse than none. Is there any guarantee that such a policy, if undertaken, would be pursued to the end? We know that the British Government, for reasons of its own, refused to tighten the noose around Italy—and sacrificed Ethiopia thereby. We know, too, that the present Tory Cabinet in London has strong pro-fascist elements—elements that remember Britain's traditional friendship and former alliance with Japan. The evidence clearly suggests the danger that economic sanctions, even if undertaken, would not be carried out in good faith.

What Good Would Come?

And finally, even if we could destroy the power of Japan, ought we to do so? We destroyed Germany in 1919, and the world has been suffering the consequences ever since. There would be small hope of enduring peace, with Japan smarting under defeat and nursing dreams of the day of revenge. We have paid dearly during the last eighteen years for the lesson that peace settlements regarded by the vanquished as unjust—and any crushing defeat is almost sure to be so regarded—do not bring peace but the menace of renewed war.

Those numerous persons who so lightly urge that the democratic nations should go to war to destroy fascism overlook the question whether democracy itself could survive a war, even when ostensibly waged in its own interest. So far as the United States is concerned, we know from past experience that our democracy, such as it is, disappears overnight when we are once engaged in conflict. If I know the temper of this country, we should be in grave danger of

emerging from such a struggle with a permanent fascist regime of our own. The bitter truth is that when we hate the fascists, actively, they score a victory over us : we have become like them, for hatred is their hallmark.

Does all this come down to a philosophy of despair, of folding our hands and permitting the forces of brutality and terror that are abroad in the world to do what they will ? Not necessarily ; the time may come when we must fight, or must threaten to fight with a firm intention of making that threat good. As regards the Japanese aggression in China, however, it is certainly desirable to face the facts candidly and to recognise that however much we might like, on moral grounds, to interfere, there is no hope of success large enough to justify the venture. It is legitimate to say that fascism is a fever for which the treatment indicated, at least in the present instance, is isolation to burn itself out. It remains true that fascism is economically unsound and is able to exist, in any country, only by laying more and more onerous burdens on the mass of the population. Japan, if she continues on her present course, will end in national bankruptcy with an excellent chance that her present government will then collapse and be succeeded by one much farther to the Left, one with which the rest of the world can live in a pattern of continuing amity. The weakness of fascism as a philosophy is that not only does it crush and distort the human spirit but it is unable to produce in satisfactory quantities houses and automobiles and gardens and food and clothing. It produces instead hunger and misery and the hysteria which alone helps to make hunger and misery endurable. Its movement is downward, and that fact must some day penetrate to the suffering masses of the people, however skilful the propaganda machine which today silences their ears and blinds their eyes.

AMERICA'S WILL TO PEACE

From " The New York Times "

IN none of these documents (the letter published by Mr. Stimson, Secretary of State in the Hoover Government, and the present Department of State's denunciation of Japan) is there the slightest

suggestion that the United States is considering abandoning the ways of peace. They will be misread if they are interpreted as an attempt to lead this nation into an unwanted war. What they say is simply that the American people are bound to be seriously concerned about the threat to peace which has arisen in the East ; that we cannot, either with honour or with safety, play the rôle of the hermit in the modern world, and that our Government is considering what can be done by peaceful means, in association with other nations, to uphold the sanctity of treaties and to safeguard international law.

The international law which ought to govern the policies of nations in the Far East is the law embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922. Under that treaty Japan agreed, in company with the chief Western nations, not only " to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China," and to give that country " the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity " to develop a stable Government, but also to use its influence for the purpose of maintaining the principle of the Open Door.

The Nine-Power Treaty was much more than a pious statement of generalities or a vague proffer of good will to China. In a very concrete manner it laid the basis for a new American policy and a new British policy in the Far East. For until the Nine-Power Treaty was signed, the United States and Britain were taking steps to strengthen their position in the Far East, in order to protect their interests in that area. And it was only after Japan had agreed to the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty that the United States and Britain consented to surrender their then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave their positions in the Far East without further fortification.

It is this system of political security which is now being destroyed by the deliberate choice of the Japanese Government. China is the victim. But what gives the United States an interest of its own in the course which events have taken is the fact that the premises upon which we based our confident hopes of peace and good will in the whole Pacific area are being undermined, and that the principles which have guided our policies in the Far East for the last decade and a half no longer receive the allegiance which was pledged to them.

Mr. Stimson expresses the sentiment of the people of this country

when he opposes any suggestion of armed intervention by the Western nations in the present situation. The Nine-Power Treaty itself provides an appropriate way of action. For Article VII of that treaty declares that whenever a situation arises which in the opinon of any of the contracting Powers involves the application of the treaty, " there shall be full and frank communication between the contracting Powers concerned."

CONCESSIONS COULD BE FUN

" I had never been to Tientsin before, and I must say that it seemed more than anything else to me to be a manifestation of extraterritoriality in its most cheerful guise, what with the trees all about, and its variably demure and pompous examples of the respective national architectures, making it look something like the shop-window of an international pastrycook. I could not help thinking that there was a lot to be said for extraterritoriality from a casual traveller's point of view, at least in the sense that it produces these bright little international enclaves. You cannot get the same effect anywhere, apparently, without extraterritoriality, because the various nationalities won't really do their best unless their Governments are behind them, and international prestige is involved. Soho in London is of course a relief from everyday Oxford Street, but it is shabby, almost furtive relief. If Soho were only an international concession, it would be as entertaining architecturally as it is gastronomically, and Londoners would learn there about other peoples, and see them very properly showing off. It would be a permanent international exhibition, like Tientsin. It surely is a great pity that such an excellent institution as extra-territoriality has got itself involved the world over with political susceptibilities and economic sharp practice."—*H. Vere Redman*, " *Contemporary Japan.*"

COMMUNAL DENTURES

The Tarradellas plan, as the decree providing for collectivization and workers' control is called, is a fountain whence have welled mixed waters, whether life-giving or deleterious experience will show. They were eagerly lapped up by a thirsting proletariat, but they are not quite so palatable today. Announcements are issued—to take two recent examples only—that the charcoal sellers and the dental unions have decided to drop collectivization. Whatever the temptations to the charcoal man with his little donkey cart and gong to reassert his individuality at a time when fuel is horribly short, collectivization of teeth anyhow seemed doomed to immediate failure.—" *Times* " *report from Spain.*

FISHING BY AIR

Korean fishermen have bought three aeroplanes from the Japanese Navy, and are using them to scout for shoals of fish from the air. Nearly a hundred fishing boats have been equipped with wireless, so that they may receive messages telling them of the whereabouts of fish.—*Great Britain and the East.*

BARBARIAN TOURISTS
A Defence of Americans

by BERGEN EVANS

From "Scribner's," New York

ALONG with home movies, Tyrolese hats, mispronunciations, tweeds, and *lederhosen*, our tourists, returning from the biggest season that Europe has ever known, have brought some ideas. . . .

The most remarkable conception brought back from Europe is that American tourists are disgusting people, vulgar and blatant barbarians who, in the words of one reporter of the scene, trample the treasures of art "under the awkward feet of ill-bred ignorance."

No one has given more vigorous expression to this view than Miss Maud Palmer Thayer in her article "The American Student Leaves the Reservation," which appeared in the August *Scribner's*. Miss Thayer had been the "leader" of a group of American college students, and the experience had been "tragic." In her own words, the veil of hope had been torn from her eyes as her charges "broke all the canons of taste and refinement that meant so much to their hosts." They played catch with their passports, threw their hats into the air and caught them on their heads, lolled in chairs and emitted "shrill gales of mirth, raucous sounds hard to duplicate on the Continent."

Nor was that all. A girl stole a ride on a bicycle, someone threw a beer bottle out of a train window, and one lad made no effort to cover "his nearly naked body" when his landlady (a "white-haired hostess . . . who spoke beautiful English") entered his room. Some of the hussies, disregarding the cultured fascist conception of women as inferior beings whose sole purpose is to breed fascists, smoked cigarettes publicly *in Rome!*—while a "gravely pacing sentry" laughed in scorn and Miss Thayer writhed inwardly.

The "leader," though cultured, was shown no deference whatever. She was "left to climb uncounted flights of stairs" because the young devils had done something to the elevator "so that it failed to descend without expert mechanical treatment." (No European hotel elevator will go in any direction or for long without expert mechanical treat-

he is credited with, a great deal more, I suspect, than some "leaders" do.

We Americans are too prone to self-criticism and not prone enough to criticise others. . . .

Before we condemn our own compatriots too [illegible], we ought to divest ourselves of the illusion that the average European is cultured. We certainly don't have any of that feeling when we see him in our slums or when he calls at the back door with the bill. But in his own land he is thought to be inexpressibly different. There are cultured Europeans, of course, just as there are cultured Americans, though I suspect that we have the advantage of them in numbers. But the average European cares no more for art than the average American, probably less because he does not have people telling him all the time that he should. Certainly one can count three Americans to every European in any of the major galleries during the season, and the ratio is about even at other times.

Beaten in Vulgarity

Even in plain vulgarity we do not always lead the world. An American tourist with a cultural inferiority complex might be comforted if, for instance, he were to visit the house in Buckhill Terrace in which Milton spent his declining years and in which *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* were written. For he would find that it was used as an advertisement (or was when last I saw it)—with a large red-and-white sign before it—for "Milton" an antiseptic wash for false teeth!

As for rowdyism, it is regrettable that the conquerors of Ethiopia and the heroes of Guernica should be exposed to it, but there are extenuating circumstances. Glamorous posters, hypnotic lecturers, and the mendacious boasts of those who have already been abroad, all these lure our youngsters from their comfortable summer homes and pack them like sardines into second-class railway compartments. Their hair may not be white and their English may not be beautiful, but in body and spirit they are "swift, pliant and merry" and need diversion. It is no wonder that, when they do get a little liberty, they run upstairs, hooting at Hevatum (one of the more serious charges brought against them), and sprawl and wrestle and tell. The astonishing thing is that they do still as much as they do.

It is alleged that such boors as our tourists cannot possibly " bring anything back with them," that they are incapable of absorbing any of the " culture " which flows like milk and honey through every European slum and hamlet. That, too, is nonsense. Of course they cannot remember all of the pictures they saw or all the facts parroted by the cathedral guides. Art is for most people a catalyst, not a food, and all above a microscopic minimum is harmlessly eliminated by a healthy system. Very few people are equipped to understand all that a really great gallery has to offer. And if you are not equipped, it is a merit not to pretend to be.

Cult of Violence

I have talked with many returned tourists and on the whole I have been astonished, considering the conditions under which they had travelled, at the amount of information they had picked up. It was not all about pictures or statues, either. Even the sleepiest tourist cannot fail eventually to notice the masses of soldiers everywhere and to meditate upon the blessing of being free from universal military service. Many have come away from the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace wondering just what all of that show is trying to hide. The nervousness and alarm which attend any mention of Mussolini in Italy or Hitler in Germany do not wholly escape them. The shrinking of the people before uniformed authority sets them pondering. And the sight of women toiling like beasts in the field or of pale hotel employees cringing for tips moves them to reflection. . . .

Some of the boys and girls get a little rough now and then, it is true. But I wonder if even that is not more of an asset than a liability to us. Physical violence seems to be about all that some of those cultured countries respect in their international relations, and it may be a good thing to let them perceive that we have an excellent supply of it.

TIP FOR BEAUTY LOVERS

Germans must love and respect nature. This motto, printed on the " Strength Through Joy " ships, also inspires municipal development committees.

In the Harz the committee has protested against the " defiling of landscapes, small towns and villages by tin advertising signs, especially those for petrol stations. It orders all such signs to be grouped on one standardised board at the entrance of each village. Each sign will show where motorists can fill up.—*Le Populaire, Paris.*

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

RECESSION OR DEPRESSION?

by "RAPIER"

I SPOKE last month of the high blood pressure caused by armaments and of the malaise which affected markets in the early autumn. Few people, I think, foresaw the magnitude of the slump which was to succeed the inactivity of the late summer. In the condition of "jitters" to which Wall Street was subsequently reduced it hardly needed a Dow Theorist or other market forecaster to tell us that we were in the midst of a bear market. Indeed the only strong feature in this period was the "rumour market," which attained such widespread currency on the Continent that an official statement had to be issued denying the irresponsible and scandalous accusations against the financial stability of leading London merchant banking houses. The one redeeming feature of this scandal has been a repatriation of fugitive capital by Frenchmen who were even more frightened of London than Paris.

Although such rumours were fantastic surprise has been expressed at the unsuspected volume of speculative positions outstanding in London. It was believed that the shakeout which followed the gold price scare and the first unpopular version of the National Defence tax last Spring, had cleared away the unwieldy speculative position which had been built up on the announcement of Britain's vast rearmament programme. It appears, however, that speculators who had lost money in the spring tried to get it back in Wall Street in the fall. In this attempt they found all too ready a response from those financiers who, in a period of cheap money and quiet markets, were pleased to find an outlet for their idle funds by financing share purchases for speculators on margins. Unfortunately for the latter they reckoned without Roosevelt, Mussolini and the Japanese war party—Roosevelt because his policies have undermined the confidence of business men in America, and the others because they meant war or threats of war. It was the spark of the Sino-Japanese conflict which set off the Wall Street slump. It has since grown into such proportions that American business men are asking themselves whether it does not portend a long trade depression and not the mere recession of a few months which was the most they expected. From a peak of 194.40 in March this year the Dow Jones average of industrial securities fell to under 140 in mid-October. Is this 1929 over again? Those in the best position to judge discard this view. As Mr. Winthrop Aldrich, the Chairman of the Chase National Bank, has pointed out, the break on Wall Street cannot be attributed to current business conditions

but mainly to the impaired efficiency of the market due to over-regulation by the Government. This caused the market to become very thin so that it could only absorb selling at greatly reduced prices. He urged a revision of the fixed margin limit of 55 per cent. cover. Here is an instance where London has been too easy-going with marginal cover and New York too strict. The moral for London is that if the freedom of markets is abused as it has been by some brokers this year the same fate of over-regulation as has overtaken Wall Street may be made operative in London.

Perhaps a more significant and disturbing factor is the decline in commodity prices. Consumers are holding off these markets and only buying from hand to mouth, fearing that if there is to be a real trade depression in America demand will fall off and prices fall further. Restriction of output has already been reimposed in copper and may have to be reimposed in tin and increased in rubber should there be no improvement in the next few weeks.

What then are the business prospects in the United States? The National City Bank *Review* for October finds the outlook mixed. On the one hand the high farm income, which in August was approximately 19 per cent. above that of a year ago, is an encouraging factor. Retail sales, too, which fell off in August and the first part of September, are broadening again. On the other hand steel production had fallen to 55·8 per cent. in mid-October against 75·9 per cent. a year ago. So far neither the automobile industry nor the railroads have placed new orders on a sufficient scale to warrant a recovery in steel production in the near future. The manufacturing industries which were operating at a very high rate during the summer to catch up with unfilled orders are now in need of new business, and their increased labour costs are reducing profit margins. There has, too, been a bumper cotton crop, which has caused a weakening in the price of raw cotton and threatens the growers' incomes next year. To counteract the latter factor President Roosevelt has called a special session of Congress in November to enact crop control legislation. But so far the President and his Administration have taken no other steps to offset the threatened trade depression. Meanwhile the persistent decline of security prices on Wall Street is undermining the confidence of business men who lack the courage to go ahead confidently while markets are inviting attention to the weak spots rather than to the favourable aspects of the business situation.

Anglo-American Trade Hopes

There are, however, many differences between 1929 and today. Both Britain and America have greatly increased gold reserves and are ready to use them as a basis of credit expansion should the

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necessity arise. America is still spending vast sums on relief and Britain on armaments and while this continues there must be considerable purchasing power available. Moreover the high level of industrial activity in Britain should sustain demand for raw materials for some time ahead and therefore maintain the income of the raw material producing countries. But what is most needed is a further revival of international trade to take up the slack when rearmament and the building industry declines in Britain. We are still awaiting more definite news of the proposed Anglo-American trade treaty. The most encouraging reference in recent weeks was that of Mr. Eden which showed that the British Government were aware of its peculiar importance as a lead to the rest of the world. It is believed that progress is being made behind the scenes and it is anticipated that actual negotiations will replace preliminary talks as soon as the Australian elections are out of the way.

TRUST OF BANK SHARES PROGRESS

The Managers of Trust of Bank Shares announced a distribution, payable on September 15, at the rate of 3.3326d. per Bank-Unit, free of income tax. Net distributions since the inception of the Trust have amounted to 11.6444d., equivalent to a gross yield of £4 1s. 9d. per annum on the current price of 19s. (ex-div.) per Bank-Unit. The Trust's results have therefore more than fulfilled original estimates, and they estimate that the gross yield for the current year will again exceed four per cent. on the current price. The Trust was formed to offer investors a convenient way of investing in the shares of the leading British Banks and discount companies.

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We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

WINTER HOLIDAYS MADE EASY

ORDINARY people of all ages—not only the consciously sporting—are realising more and more the good that comes of taking a winter holiday. Everyone nowadays has a sufficient smattering of scientific knowledge to be aware of the health-giving properties of mountain air and sunshine ; and travel agencies have smoothed difficulties and reduced costs to such an extent that the way to the Alps lies open for all.

Even old hands need not scorn the help of the travel agencies in making their arrangements, for by booking with a party on a special train, one has the benefit of reduced fares. For newcomers to winter sports, we advise joining one of the travel agencies' parties in any case. These are not ordinary conducted tours, but just a cheerful body of men and girls being kindly shown how to get the maximum enjoyment with least waste of time And " collective action " means astonishing reductions in price. Dean & Dawson, for example, are offering an inclusive 10-day holiday in Switzerland for as little as £8 18s. 6d.—and, as they say, what could be fairer than that ? Fifteen days at a popular resort like Grindelwald, can be done for about 15 guineas, or at St. Anton am Arlberg for about 17 guineas. Rooms can be booked before leaving, and every other worry removed, except that of the weather, which is still impervious to efficient organisation.

This question of weather provides the clue to a wise choice of the right winter sports resort from among the bewildering number which display their apparently equal charms in handbooks. Christmas by no means always brings snow to all mountain slopes, as many would-be skiers faced with the mockery of green grass will remember. So for anyone who is leaving before the middle of January the best advice is—aim high and/or East. In Switzerland and Tirol it is not wise to go anywhere under 4,000 feet until later in the winter, and higher still is advisable. For instance, Zürs, on the Arlberg, which lies 5,643 feet high, would be more likely to give good sport at Christmas than St. Anton —although the latter has the advantage of a skating rink. For the same reason, the most famous Swiss resorts, such as St. Moritz, Pontresina, Mürren, Scheiddegg, etc., all of which lie round 6,000 feet, owe their particular popularity to a real natural advantage. Incidentally, it might be well to note that the much-starred Kitzbühel owes its fame to very different causes, as it is a mere 2,566 feet above sea level, and seems likely to remain there.

Pioneer spirits who enjoy leaving the beaten track—beaten at any rate by English feet—can find all they want in the way of early snow, even at lower altitudes, by journeying further East. The German resorts in the Riesengebirge, on the borders of Silesia and Czechoslovakia (Schreiberhau, Krummhübel, Spindlermühle) all offer good sport, although they lie at something less than 3,000 feet round the Schneekoppe (5,266 feet), which, next to the Zugspitze in Bavaria, is the highest mountain in Germany. These places are immensely popular with the sportsmen and women of North-Eastern Germany but few English have yet penetrated as far. The same holds good for a still more remote spot—the Tatras, both Polish and Czechoslovak.

The question of clothes and equipment worries hesitant winter holiday-makers, particularly of what was once called the

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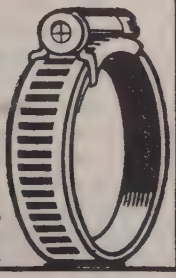

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MOUNTAIN INTERLUDE

Germans on a ski-ing holiday rest in the hut at the foot of the Riedberger Horn, Allgâu, Bavaria

"fair sex." Certainly some of the pictures in the expensive fashion papers give one an alarming idea of exotic creations. But such heights can be best scaled by film stars. Workmanlike simplicity is the right keynote for sportsmen. Navy blue or black waterproofed ski-ing trousers, with a wind-jacket such as is worn on the golf course are the best external garb, although plus-fours are very popular. Leave the privilege of wearing wool on the outside to the expert who never comes in contact with the snow. Whatever else you stint on, let it not be boots, as your pleasure stands or falls with them. Remember that the mountain sun is grilling hot, and wear top garments that can be put into your rucksack till the sun disappears behind the mountain tops and the cold suddenly strikes like an icy hand.

As regards equipment, skis can be hired quite cheaply, but if there is any prospect of the holiday being repeated another year—and anyone who goes once will move heaven and earth to go every winter—it is best to invest in a good pair. It is by no means necessary to buy skis and ski-sticks in London; it is too often forgotten that there is a good choice waiting in the local shops on arrival. A rucksack, snow glasses, mitts and socks are other necessary accessories all more cheaply and just as well obtained on the spot.

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CRUISE 61—March 18th-April 4th. Toulon, Greece, Constantinople, Troy, Philippi, Delos, Malta, Toulon. Berths from **Twenty Seven Guineas.**
A debate will take place during the Cruise on "The Future of the League of Nations," in which the following hope to take part :—Viscount Dunedin, Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Lord Davies, Lord Dickinson, The Bishop of Derby, The Dean of Durham, Vice-Admiral Sidney Drury-Lowe, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Dame Rachel Crowdy. The following will lecture on this Cruise :—Sir Frank Fletcher, Sir Eric Maclagan, Canon Quick and Canon Wigram.

CRUISE 62—April 5th-21st. Toulon, Delphi, Sparta, Athens, Constantinople, Rhodes, Mycenae, Malta, Naples. Berths from **Twenty Nine Guineas.**
The following will lecture :—Sir Frederick Keeble, Lady Keeble (formerly Lillah McCarthy, who will recite from Euripides in the theatre of Epidauras,) Sir Harry Luke, Prebendary Moxon, Colonel Piers North, P. C. Vellacott and Canon Wigram.

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The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

VERNON BARTLETT SPEAKING

THIS IS MY LIFE. By Vernon Bartlett. *Chatto & Windus.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GERALD BARRY

As I am so fortunate as to number the Editor of WORLD REVIEW and the author of *This is My Life* among my closest and best friends, praise of his new book, by me, in his own magazine, may easily be discounted in advance. Nevertheless, praise it I must, because it is a remarkable book. You will not find in it, if you should be expecting them, full length portraits of all the prominent world statesmen whom Vernon Bartlett in the course of an amazingly full half-a-lifetime has known or interviewed. Diplomats, politicians — some great figures, some merely distinguished—he meets and has met in dozens ; to him dictators are two-a-penny. But they occur in the pages of this auto-biographical sketch only incidentally.

I call it sketch because, while it is a full-length book, he has managed it with such a lightness of touch that sketch seems to be the word. He might, of course, have assembled all the instrumentalists, including a full complement of percussion, and conducted for our edification a fully-orchestrated symphony on the post-war international theme. He knows enough of Europe, its personalities and crises, to fill three or four volumes of the now fashionable sort. Perhaps he intends to do so next—I rather hope so (though I usually suspect these Intimate Guides to International Chaos) because he could do it better than any of them. But he has chosen a different and a more difficult way, and has brought it off incomparably.

Instead of an " Inside Europe " he has written an " Inside Bartlett," and the result is one of the most human, revealing, and yet at the same time informative books I have read for a very long time. You get your facts and your pen pictures right enough : they are there in plenty. Anyone who wants to recapitulate rapidly the record and personalities of the post-war European years can do so very satisfactorily through the chapters of this book. The big figures make their entries and exits, Hitler, Mussolini and all ; but, as I say, informally and as it were by accident. The main theme is Bartlett himself, and even this is handled so deftly and yet so tentatively that here too you get at the man almost in spite of, rather than because of, what he tells you about himself.

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Possibly my judgment is not dispassionate, but I can think of few autobiographies that have managed quite so casually to distil the essence of their author's personality. Reading it you read Vernon Bartlett and discover the secrets of his success both at his job and as a human being—the modesty, half real and half assumed, the diffident moderation of judgment, the generosity, the temper, the intense enjoyment of every minute of living—especially, in retrospect, the bad minutes. You discover, too, because he has managed to convey his personality into these pages as he conveys it through the microphone, the secret of his unique success as a broadcaster.

There are one million seventy-eight thousand and three good stories in this book. If I quote one I must quote all. The very variety of them—he describes a meeting with the mighty in one paragraph and in the next recounts an inconsequent, amusing and rather vulgar café anecdote—is one more guide to his character. He revels in the whole of life.

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LIGHT ON SIAN-FU

CHINA AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. *Faber.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

CRISIS IN CHINA. By James Bertram. *Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I.

The mutiny at Sian-fu last December was a disturbing event difficult to interpret and threatening China with disaster. The story of the kidnapping of General Chiang Kai-shek by the young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, filled the Press of the world for a fortnight before Christmas, but it was never fully told and, both in substance and in outline, it remained shadowy and menacing behind a veil of strict censorship. This veil is now lifted by two writers, Madame Chiang who relates her part in it, both in Nanking and in Sian itself, and Mr. Bertram who presents, for the first time in public, the case for the young Marshal and his fellow-mutineers. It is a graphic tale which they tell, and but for the fact that the war now raging in China overshadows it in magnitude and awe, their books might well have been best-sellers. Even so, they have so much to say (particularly Mr. Bertram) that is pertinent to the present issue that they deserve a wide and attentive audience. And, be it remarked, they must be read together. Having read Madame Chiang's little volume with a deep

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personal interest which awoke in my mind many vivid memories of my association with her remarkable husband and herself, I passed on at once to Mr. Bertram's larger book and did not lay it down till I finished it in the small hours of the morning.

These two books are complementary. Each is incomplete without the other. From them the figure of General Chiang Kai-shek emerges as the most powerful in China, and even Mr. Bertram's critical, not to say hostile, mind is compelled to pay the tribute of greatness to the Generalissimo. As a record of history, however, they are still incomplete. Madame Chiang reveals very clearly the official state of mind in Nanking during the crisis, and no one can fail to see that her courage and cool resource played a great part in averting disaster. The reader will also realise that during that black fortnight, there were persons and cliques in the Chinese capital who, either from headstrong anger with the mutineers, or with the darker motive of exploiting the situation against their new leader, sought to press the issue by instant punitive action against the Tungpei army in Shensi. These were held in check with difficulty, but held they were and the situation saved. Of the part which General Chiang himself played, this book tells far less, and what it relates is open to some sceptical doubt as to whether the matter which appears in its last pages as being "Extracts from the General's Diary," written in captivity, has not been re-written after the event.

Mr. Bertram, on the other hand, writes frankly with great sympathy for the young Marshal and makes a remarkably good case for the conspirators of Sian-fu.

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I strongly advise those who wish to appreciate the situation last December or to understand the relation between Nanking and the North-Eastern Army (the ex-Manchurians) *and* the Communists to read Mr. Bertram's book. It is true that he ignores, or glosses over, some of the ugly features of the young Marshal's Manchurian record; true, also, that he has not quite the right perspective for a true appreciation of Nanking policy, but he has written a book which throws valuable light on contemporary China and, in itself, makes first-rate reading.

PLAIN TRUTHS FROM AFRICA

LORDS OF THE EQUATOR. By PATRICK BALFOUR. *Hutchinson.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

As a writer of travel books Mr. Patrick Balfour might be said to stand half-way between Mr. Evelyn Waugh and Mr. Peter Fleming. His latest book has neither the descriptive brilliance of *Remote People* nor the suspense of *News From Tartary*. In compensation it contains a great deal of solid information, culled from its source by an alert and intelligent mind. This does not mean that Mr. Balfour writes dully. On the contrary I found my interest in his long book unflagging. But it means that he is interested in the things that he sees and hears, rather than in his own reaction to them. The result in this case is a first-rate piece of *reportage*.

To obtain his material the author flew in a Belgian aeroplane to the Congo and then travelled by road, rail, and boat through Angola, the Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Kenya.

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It is a long time since the European nations were ready to jump at each others' throats for a parcel of soil in the unknown continent. The days of danger and adventure are over, but so are those of limitless hopes. "It is slowly coming to be realised that tropical Africa, compared, for instance, with the Americas, India, or Soviet Russia, is not a rich country. Large parts of it are unproductive desert or jungle. . . . Only in two of the world's vegetable products, cocoa and palm oil, does she lead the field." Mr. Balfour reflects the disillusionment he found in many of the territories he visited.

It may come as a shock to some of Mr. Balfour's readers to find British administration compared by him unfavourably with French and Belgian. On entering Tanganyika from the west he was immediately struck by the inferiority of the roads, the railway, and the mail service He considers the Colonial Service over-staffed and with the wrong type of man. Whereas the French administrator goes to Africa in pursuit of a vocation, the English does so "because he is good at passing exams and because it is held to be a suitable profession for a public school man. . . . He is the don rather than the man of action."

Mr. Balfour made a special study of the German colonial problem and the chapters on this subject have a topical interest. He puts the case for both sides very fully and clearly, but, as he rightly observes the solution is in Europe, not in Africa. He has nothing but praise for the better type of German colonist whom he met with both in the Cameroons and Tanganyika; but considers the Nazi agitators in Tanganyika a poor lot, for whom restoration offers the sole hope of escape from a state

of chronic insolvency. Among the wealthier German settlers, on the other hand, he found many who were by no means anxious to change British rule for German and one who had actually migrated to Kenya for fear of it.

Mr. Balfour has naturally much to say on the native question, which because it is also the question of labour, is fundamental in the economic development of Africa. Here again he is critical of British liberal methods. However worthy in purpose, they are not, in his view, understood by the native and conduce neither to his happiness as an individual nor to his efficiency as a worker. Mr. Balfour's preference is for benevolent despotism and in this respect his sympathies are with the pre-war German, whose rough and ready justice at least got things done, and with the post-war English settler who cannot keep a labourer or prevent his property from being robbed because of the leniency of the District Commissioner.

MUSSOLINI'S MODEL

SO GREAT A MAN. By David Pilgrim. *Macmillan*, 8*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by VERNON BARTLETT

IT is not our habit to review fiction in these pages : there are so many heavy volumes on international affairs to squeeze them out. But the merit of *So Great a Man* is that it is so accurate in its details that it should rank rather as biography. All the thrills one has come to associate with another *nom de plume* used by the two writers who call themselves David Pilgrim are there, and yet the book rings truer than any other historical romance I have ever read.

Napoleon strides through these pages with astonishing vitality, and yet the great attraction of the book is in the little pictures it draws for us of the humbler men whose lives he affected—the English Rifleman Harris from Blandford, trudging through the snow on that terrible retreat to Coruna, Fouché's mean little spies and murderers, the Emperor's devoted General Savary, the hawkers in the Faubourg du Temple, and scores of others are so vivid that one finds it difficult to believe one is reading of a period so remote and yet so like our own.

I am one who detests historical novels, but I congratulate David Pilgrim unreservedly on a very remarkable book. I hope he will send a copy to Signor Mussolini to remind him how difficult it is for a great leader of men not to become a pitiful and all-destroying slave of circumstances.

AN EXPERT ON THE AIR

WINGED WARFARE. By Squadron-Leader E. J. Kingston-McCloughry, D.S.O., D.F.C. *Jonathan Cape*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by Air-Commodore L. E. O. CHARLTON

THE appearance of *Winged Warfare* is another welcome intimation to the thinking public that a younger Air Force generation is arising to whom the problems set by air power are becoming a matter of the closest study. The author of this work has not perpetrated a book in the ordinary sense of the word, but has rather compiled in book form the various articles contributed by him, over a considerable period of time, to the more influential Service magazines. There are some who are shy of reading literary *réchauffées*, imagining it to savour of an over-baked condition. They need not be in this case. Among the contents of *Winged Warfare* are several Prize Essays ; evidence at least that they have been commended by those who are accustomed to adjudicate the merits of such writings. For a work of

this nature, indeed, inasmuch as it is the result of slow, considered thought rather than the hasty release, in flood form, of opinions pent, the system of compilation is highly suitable, and the reader, be he student or otherwise, can rest assured that he is being shown the heart of a burning subject.

Very varied, as might be expected, are the contents. In "Trenchard's Air Force," the apt lesson of attacking civilian morale by means of the bomber aircraft, working independently of operations on the ground, though in liaison with them, is driven home. An informing article on "Air Navigation" follows and is succeeded in its turn by the star content, "The Mediterranean Today." No one can peruse this thoughtfully worked-out chapter without becoming sadly reflective that in changing the face of nature and of man, air power has also particularly contributed to render highly uncertain the future of our Empire; unless, that is, we alter our diplomacy in accordance with hard facts and stern necessities. But each chapter, in its fashion, is as good. The one entitled "Policing by Air" is proof positive that as and when it is expedient to exact reprisals, or to nip tribal rebellion in the bud, or to assist a tribe within the law against an aggressor tribe without it, then to bomb them in the most merciful manner possible, putting their lives into their own hands by previous proclamation, is a much shorter cut, a cheaper and a more humane method towards pacification, than a ground expeditionary force.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

September 16. Patrol of Mediterranean by British and French under Nyon Agreement begun.

„ 17. British and French warships on non-intervention work round Spanish coast withdrawn for work of anti-piracy control. Measures to be taken against attacking aeroplanes and surface vessels under Nyon plan agreed upon.

„ 19. Count Ciano intimated that Italy would be ready to join the anti-piracy patrol if given complete equality with Britain and France.

„ 22. Important conversations between M. Delbos and Signor Bova-Scoppa, Italian delegate to the League on the eve of Mussolini's visit to Germany. Reported that the Italian was asked on what terms Italy would co-operate with the League; these included recognition of the Abyssinian Empire and equality in the Mediterranean. The Berlin-Rome axis and the question of Austria also, it is believed, were discussed, and a general *detente* announced in Franco-Italian relations.

„ 22. Colonel Troncoso, Franco's military governor at Irun, arrested in France on charge of plotting to seize a Spanish Government submarine at Brest.

October 3. Britain and France sent joint note inviting Italy to a conference on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain.

„ 4. H.M.S. *Basilisk* reported attacked by submarine. Depth charges dropped.

„ 7. No reply received from Italy. Diplomatic representatives in Rome enquired when it might be expected.

„ 8. Official Admiralty communiqué stated that *Basilisk* had been found not to have been attacked.

„ 9. Reply sent by Italy declining invitation to tri-partite conference, and stating the question of volunteers in Spain should be referred back to the Non-Intervention Committee. She will take part in no conference without Germany.

„ *et seq.* 11. Question of the next step in face of the Italian reply the subject of Anglo-French discussions. Section of French opinion, including M. Delbos, said to be in favour of opening the Pyrenean frontier to passage of arms to Government

Spain. Occupation of Minorca by a Franco-British force also suggested as an offset to Italian occupation of Majorca. British Government advised a last try with the Non-Intervention Committee.

October 16. Non-Intervention Committee met. Deadlock reported.

„ 18. Number of Italians in Spain officially stated to be 40,000.

„ 20. Italy announced substantial agreement with British plan for withdrawal of volunteers step by step.

CHINA

September 20. Nanking twice bombed by the air.

„ 21. British Ambassador in Tokyo protested against Japanese bombing non-military objectives. Canton raided. Final Japanese note on shooting of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen expressed regret and British Government stated incident closed.

„ 22. United States protested more strongly against Japanese threat to bomb Nanking again.

„ 23. Enormous loss of life among civilians when Nanking bombed.

„ 24. *et seq.* More protests from Ambassadors in Tokyo, including the German representative. Canton again bombed.

„ 27. Japanese bombing condemned by the League. Passengers on German liner reported seeing Japanese submarine sink a Chinese fleet of junks, leaving men, women and children to drown. Japanese Foreign Office issued reply to protests denying that large numbers of non-combatants had been killed, and stating that only military objectives were bombed.

October 1. Tokyo Foreign Office rejected all thought of mediation.

„ 10. General Chiang-Kai-shek in broadcast speech stated that no hope of hostilities being ended in a few months.

„ 12. Further Japanese advances in North China.

UNITED STATES

October 5. President Roosevelt at Chicago made epoch-making speech, denouncing international lawlessness, speaking of impossibility of neutrality, and necessity of concerted action against aggressors.

October 6. Repercussions in all parts of the world. Bare summaries published in Germany and Italy. Japan resentful. Invitations issued to League members and signatories, or adherents, of the Nine-Power Treaty to a Conference.

„ 7. Department of State indicated that the U.S. would join in an invitation to a Far Eastern Conference. Japan formally condemned as aggressor in similar terms to the League's resolution.

GREAT BRITAIN

September 20. Mr. Eden at Geneva announced that, as a contribution to peace, Britain was prepared to consider a reduction of tariff barriers in non-self-governing British colonies.

October 5. Albert Hall gathering condemned Japan and demanded boycott.

„ 7-9. Conservative Party Conference at Scarborough. *Inter alia*, resolution passed condemning any suggestion of return of colonies to Germany.

GERMANY

September 25. Mussolini arrived in Munich. Hitler accepted return invitation.

„ 27. Mussolini visited Krupp's and arrived later in Berlin.

„ 28. Speeches by two dictators to enormous gathering in Berlin, both emphasising desire for peace.

„ 29. Mussolini left on return to Rome.

October 3. Hitler repeated German claim to colonies at Harvest Festival.

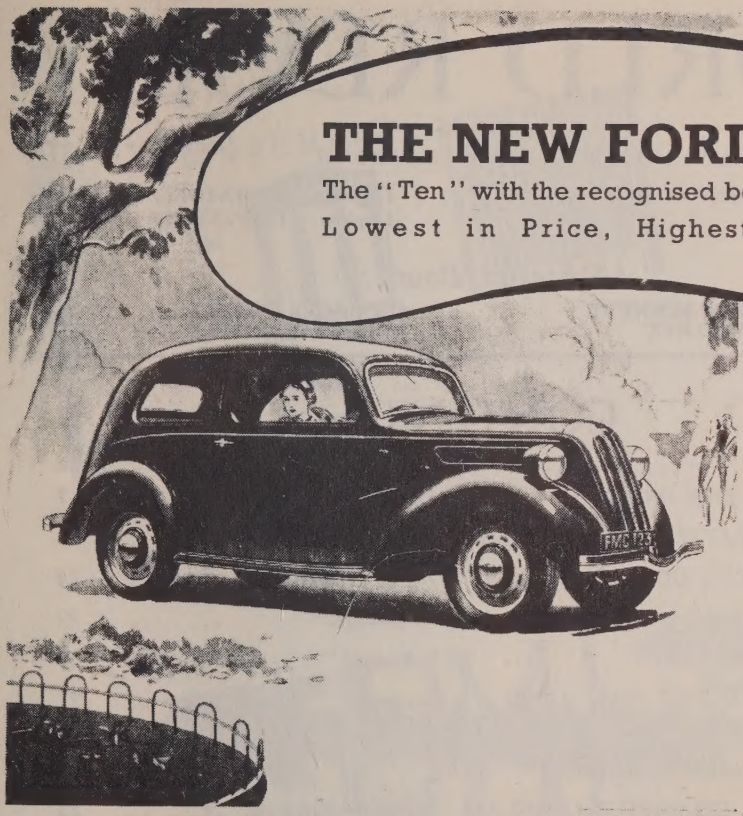
„ 13. Note to Belgium guaranteeing inviolability of her territory, in all cases except if Belgium should herself attack Germany or give passage to an attacking army. Guarantee against aggression by other Powers also included.

PALESTINE

October 1. Strong action taken by British as consequence of murder of officials. Arab Higher Committee declared illegal and leading members arrested for deportation to the Seychelles. Grand Mufti dismissed.

„ 14. *et seq.* Further attacks by Arabs on Jews and British. Grand Mufti fled to Syria.

Printed in Great Britain for the Proprietors by Vacher & Sons, Ltd., Westminster House, S.W.1, and Published by Chatto & Windus, 40-42 Chandos Street, W.C.2. Sole Agents for Australasia: GORDON & GOTCH (AUSTRALASIA) LTD. For South Africa: CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY LTD. (London Agents: GORDON & GOTCH LTD.)



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WORLD REVIEW

Volume IV. No. 4. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *December*, 1937

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON W.C.2.

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